

T R A V E L S
I N
S P A I N:

CONTAINING
A NEW, ACCURATE, AND COMPREHENSIVE VIEW
OF THE
PRESENT STATE OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY THE
CHEVALIER DE BOURGOANNE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
COPIOUS EXTRACTS
FROM THE
ESSAYS ON SPAIN
O F
M. P E Y R O N.

I N T H R E E V O L U M E S.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWELVE COPPER-PLATES.

V O L U M E I I.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,
PATER-NOSTER-ROW, 1789.

T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
S P A I N.

WE shall now proceed to consider the navy of Spain. Charles III. found it in an imperfect state, though Ferdinand VI. had less neglected this than other branches of the administration, and though his minister, the marquis de la Ensenada is esteemed its restorer. It is divided into three departments, those of Ferrol, Carthagena and Cadiz.

The first has real inconveniencies, on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, and the frequent rains which retard the operations in the port whence no vessel can sail but with one particular wind. This department for the north coast of Spain would, perhaps, be better placed at Vigo, the climate of which is very healthy, the soil fertile, and the harbour safe, and spacious; this change has more than once been in contemplation; in case it had taken place, arsenals and magazines must have been established at Vigo, where at present there is not one of either; and the harbour must have been fortified at a very considerable expence, because it is a kind of open road; this, together with its vicinity to Portugal, which has long been considered as the natural enemy of Spain, for no other reason, perhaps, than because it is its nearest neighbour, seemed to appear forbidding circumstances; and such considerations of oeconomy and policy have hitherto prevented the execution of this project.

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The department of Carthagenæ has many advantages over that of Ferrol. The safety of its harbour is known by an old proverb among seamen, who say, there are but three good ports for vessels, the months of June and July, and the harbour of Carthagenæ. This safety extends to the arsenals and dock yards, which in a narrow place may, if I may so say, *be locked up by a single key*; according to the expression of the Spanish sailors. Carthagenæ therefore is the port where the greatest number of ships are built, caulked, and careened. The present monarch established, in 1770, a corps of navy engineers under the direction of M. Gauthier, of whom I shall hereafter speak.

The department of Cadiz is, however, the most important of the three, on account of its favourable situation for the departure of fleets. As I mean to conduct my reader to Cadiz, where I resided some time, I shall refer him to my account of it for the information I have

4 THE PRESENT STATE

been able to collect relative to its port, dock-yards and arsenals ; which will serve as a supplement to what I shall here say of the Spanish navy. -

It is governed much in the same manner as that of France. Instead of vice-admirals there are captains general, who enjoy the same honours as those of the army. Don Louis de Cordova, whom we have seen at the head of the Spanish squadrons, is at present captain general of the navy. Immediately after the captains general rank, as in France, the lieutenants general, who are at present seventeen in number, and the commodores to the number of fifteen. But in the Spanish navy, there is an intermediate rank between these and captains of vessels or post-captains ; that of brigadier. There are at present forty officers of this description. The number of captains of ships is a hundred and fifteen, and of those of frigates a hundred and fifty-two. Besides these there is a general inspector of the navy, who annually visits

visits the three departments, in each of which he has a sub-inspector.

One rule to which there are but few exceptions is, that as in France, to acquire rank in the navy, it is necessary to have passed through the Garde-marine. This corps was established in 1717; it consists of three companies, each containing ninety-two cadets, for whose instruction there is an academy, composed of a director and eight professors.

With these means of obtaining the theory of the difficult and perilous art of navigation, and the facility the vast extent of the Spanish monarchy offers to acquire a practical knowledge in frequent and distant expeditions, malignity might be authorised to judge with severity the officers of the Spanish navy; and we know that even in Spain this was freely done in the course of the late war. It is not for me to form an opinion of these decisions, which some events seemed to justify; I leave that to our sea officers

6 THE PRESENT STATE

who failed and fought by the side of their allies; let them declare whether or not such decisions were not frequently dictated by prejudice and injustice, and if some Spanish officers did not acquire a right to their esteem as well by their talents as their bravery. I shall not name one of them, because I wish not to combat the pretensions of any. In such cases, to mention commanders by name can be but little flattering, because men of merit have no need of the suffrages of an obscure individual, and silence may be taken for an injury. The officers of the navy are, with respect to military rewards, upon a footing with those of the army; they find places suitable to their professions in the three departments. The vice-royalties, governments of provinces, or places in America are indiscriminately given to general officers of the army and those of the navy. But the officers of the Spanish navy have, in the exercise of their profession, many other means of enriching themselves, of which they take advantage, and for this

this reason render the king's favours less necessary.

The sailors are classed as in France, and divided into three departments. The registers of the classes make the number of the whole amount to fifty thousand. But well informed persons assured me, that in 1759, there were but thirty-six thousand; and in 1776 it would have been difficult to have found so many. It appears however that a greater number was employed in the course of the late war, if we may judge of the number of vessels of every rate then fitted out. Spain was not reduced to the sole resource of the classes, and the ships besides were but seldom completely manned. On the other hand, a reason may be given for the smaller number of Spanish sailors, so little proportioned to the population of the kingdom. In every state maritime commerce can alone render flourishing and supply the royal navy. The commerce of Spain being much more passive than active, and its

8 THE PRESENT STATE

interior navigation reduced almost to nothing, few sailors are employed in merchant ships. At present these amount to about four or five hundred sail, three-fourths of which are from the coasts of Catalonia, and most of the remainder from Biscay. This number will appear very moderate, especially when it is recollected that England has, perhaps, upwards of seven thousand merchant men, Holland at least six thousand six hundred, and France about four or five thousand. It seems by this gradation, that states are more particularly invited by their situation to become maritime powers, and that for Spain to become such more efforts are necessary than in those countries which have received this advantage from Nature herself. One circumstance is in favour of her progress in this respect; the establishment of a free commerce between the inhabitants and the greatest part of her colonies. This measure, which is as recent as 1778, has already sensibly increased the number

ber of her trading vessels, and cannot but continue so to do.

Spain has also for the service of her ships of war, a marine infantry, composed of twelve battalions, which consisting of a hundred and sixty-eight men each, form a corps of about twelve thousand men.

Besides these there is a particular corps of artillery, of two thousand five hundred and ninety-five men, for whom there are theoretical and practical schools in each of the three departments.

Spain has also a society of pilots, with schools of pilotage.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. the Spaniards adopted the English principles in building their ships. Don Jorge Juan, one of the most able naval officers as well in theory as practice, had gone to the true source, and afterwards drew to Spain some English ship-builders. When
Charles

Charles III. came from Naples to take possession of the vacant throne, he found the building of the Spanish ships entrusted to individuals of a nation which had but too much power in the cabinet of his predecessor, and which at that time was at war with France. In this war he soon took a part, and was a victim to his affection for France. The English took from him the Havannah, and twelve ships of war which were in that port. This check given to the Spanish navy was a new motive with the monarch to put it upon a respectable footing.

He renounced the English manner of building, and asked the court of France for a French ship-builder. The duke of Choiseul sent him M. Gautier, who, although a young man, had already given proofs of great talents in his profession. This stranger was to the navy what M. Maritz had been to the artillery. Spirit of party, national prejudices, and more especially the jealousy of some individuals, created

created him, as they had done M. Maritz, such difficulties as almost suppressed his zeal. The marquis d'Offun, then ambassador from France to the court of Madrid, whom his catholic majesty honoured with his favour, supported M. Gautier in his experiments, and enabled him to triumph over his enemies. He began his operations and displayed in them equal activity and intelligence. His first efforts, however, were not followed by all the success which might have been wished.

The form of the vessels of every rate which he constructed enabled them to sail with a velocity until then unknown to the Spaniards; but they were found not to be sufficiently covered in, which made it very difficult to manœuvre them in bad weather. He has since improved his method to such a degree as to leave but little to desire in that respect. A great part of the Spanish vessels employed in the late war were built by M. Gautier; and several of them excited the admiration

tion of both French and English seamen. The Conception, built according to his plan, was judged by intelligent persons of both these nations, to be the finest vessel in Europe.

But while we do justice to the hulls and solidity of the Spanish ships, it must be admitted that all seamen exclaim with reason against their heaviness of sailing. This I have been told was owing to the manner in which they are rigged and stowed; which appears probable, since those taken in 1780 by admiral Rodney from M. de Langara, acquired under the management of the English, a celerity which they were not thought capable of receiving. The Spaniards, who disdain not to learn, even in the school of their enemies, are endeavouring, if the public prints are to be believed, to improve their ship-building according to the models which the success of war delivered into their hands.

M. Gautier

M. Gautier is not the sole author of the change. He has not only formed artists who partake with him of the merit ; but Spain has national ship-builders, who, without his aid, have improved their art, and will render his loss less sensible to the Spanish navy.

The displeasure of the minister had for some years condemned M. Gautier to inactivity ; and the court of France took this occasion to reclaim from her ally a subject, who seemed to have become useless. The king of Spain restored M. Gautier to his country, continuing to him the salary he enjoyed in the Spanish navy. He laid but one restriction upon this favour, and which does no less honour to the goodness of the monarch than to the talents of M. Gautier : This was that he should again dedicate his talents to the service of Spain, if hereafter need should require them.

Since his return, I have heard him regretted, even by those who had opposed,
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or were hurt at his success, which proves, that in that nation, truly loyal and generous, justice gets the better of prejudices against foreigners. My own experience has proved to me that these are exaggerated, or at least that they ought to be more excused. What other nation, in the same circumstances as that of Spain, would not have shewn more of this odious sentiment? Can it be supposed that when Louis XIV. pensioned learned foreigners; when he sought beyond his frontiers, renowned artists or skilful manufacturers, he did not excite against them the hatred of the French, who imagined they had a greater right to his bounty, or that their indignation rose not against the contempt shewn their talents by pensioning foreign industry? The self love and patience of the Spaniards have, within the last century, been put to much severer proofs. In the retinue of the French prince, who came to receive their crown, there appeared a crowd of foreigners, who filled up all the avenues to the throne; French favourites,
French

French valets-de-chambres, and French confessors, surround the monarch. The princess of Ursins and the French ambassadors reigned by turns in the cabinet. A Frenchman repaired to Spain to reform their finances*; and French generals were placed at the head of their armies†. Soon afterwards an Italian ecclesiastic‡, invited by the second wife of Philip V. shook the monarchy by the agitation which his turbulent character endeavoured to excite in Europe; nor did his disgrace, the proper punishment of his tumultuous administration, for a long time restore the Spaniards to their former state. A Dutchman§, still more extravagant, gained the favour of the monarch, seized in one year on every dignity and every favour, and soon afterwards escaped loaded with the curses of the people, carrying from Spain nothing

* M. Orry.

† The marshal de Tessé, the duke of Berwick and the duke of Vendôme.

‡ The abbé Alberoni.

§ Ripperda.

but

but the stigma of a state criminal. Under the succeeding monarch two foreign nations* reigned in the midst of the Spaniards by the side of their throne. An Irish minister†, raised himself by that intrigue, of which the court was the theatre, but by the easiness of the yoke he imposed, his quality of foreigner was overlooked, and he preserved his influence under the new sovereign, who quitted the throne of Naples for that of Spain. One of the Italians‡, who accompanied the monarch, soon presided over the department of finances; and a few years afterwards, another Italian minister § succeeded M. Wall. The discipline of the infantry was reformed by an Irishman ||, whilst two Frenchmen improved **, one

* The English and the Italians; the former by M. Keen, their ambassador; the latter by the musician, Farinelli.

† M. Wall.

‡ The marquis of Squilace.

§ The marquis of Grimaldi.

|| M. O'Reilly.

** M. Maretz.

the artillery, the other *, the building of ships. At London, Stockholm, Paris, Vienna, and Venice, the Spanish sovereign was represented by foreigners †. Strangers have established manufactures ‡, and preside over the construction of great roads and canals §, direct sieges ||, command armies **, cause plans of finance to be adopted ††, and offer money to government upon the most advantageous terms ‡‡. In commercial places these are still the persons who discourage

* M. Gautier.

† The prince Masserano, the count de Lacy, the marquis of Grimaldi, before he became minister; the count de Mahoni, the marquis de Squilace after his retreat from the ministry.

‡ At Valencia, Barcelona, Talavera, Madrid, &c.

§ M. le Maur.

|| The same M. le Maur at Mahon; M. d'Arcon at Gibraltar.

** The duke de Crillon at Mahon, and at the camp of St. Roche; the prince of Nassau on the floating batteries, &c. &c.

†† M. Cabanus.

‡‡ The principal French commercial houses established at Madrid.

the Spaniards by their activity and success. At Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, Bilboa, and other great trading cities, the richest merchants are foreigners. I have frequently heard the hatred they inspire in Spain declaimed against. I confess, that if any thing has surprised me, it is the ease with which the Spaniards suffer them in their country, and the disposition they have to love them, provided they be not prevented by their haughty manners and insulting pretensions: and should some of the natives look upon them with an eye of envy, and be offended at the concourse of fortunate strangers, whose success of every kind seems incessantly to upbraid Spanish idleness and ignorance, would not this be excusable by that self-love which men in all countries have so much difficulty in conquering, and by that attachment so natural to national glory which may be honoured, if men will, by the fine name of patriotism? After apologizing to the reader for this digression, which was necessary for the satisfaction of my
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own mind, and which he too perhaps may not find absolutely impertinent. I shall proceed with what I have yet further to say, concerning the Spanish navy.

It certainly owes much to the present monarch. His efforts to new model and increase it, which were begun in the first years of his reign, have not been ineffectual. In 1764, the Spanish navy consisted only of thirty-seven ships of the line, and about thirty frigates. In 1770, there were fifty-one ships of from fifty-eight to one hundred and twelve guns; twenty-two frigates, eight hoys, nine xebecs, and twelve other small ships of war. Their number has since increased. Spain at several periods of the late war had not less than sixty ships of the line; and since the peace, government has made every effort to repair the losses sustained from the elements and the enemy.

The three divisions in Europe of the navy of Spain, are not the only places

where ships of war are built. There are dock-yards at the Havannah ; and a fund of seven hundred thousand piaftres was sometime fince established to carry on the works.

Spain and her colonies might furnifh her navy with all the fhip-timber neceffary for that fervice. There are great quantities in the mountains of Afturia and Navarre, and particularly in the Pyrenees on the fide of Arragon and Catalonia, there is a fpecies of pine more folid and durable than the oak. The plain of Cuba contains many cedars, although it has been thought to be exhausted by the quantities drawn from the country adjacent to the coafts. In thofe of Cumana alfo, there is timber fit for fhip-building, and during the adminiftration of M. le Bailli d'Arriaga, it was in contemplation to apply it to that ufe. But Spain has not derived all the advantages fhe might have done from thefe refources, and constantly depends upon the northern ftates, at leaft for
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a supply of masts. According to the account which the bank of St. Charles has this year given to the public, in consequence of its being charged with the furnishing of naval stores, it appears that from the first of December 1784, to the first of December 1785, upwards of eight millions and a half of reals were paid for masts alone, which were brought from the north. Spain is still obliged to employ Dutch vessels. She will be able to do without them, if the direct commerce she has for some years carried on in the Baltic continues to prosper. She has already begun to establish connexions with Russia for naval stores. In the course of the year 1781, four Russian vessels unloaded their cargoes of hemp, in the department of Ferrol, and took back wools from the neighbouring coasts. The two nations cannot but find their advantage in rendering this communication more frequent.

It were also to be wished, that until Spain shall be in a situation to supply her own wants of this kind, intelligent agents from that kingdom might be employed in Livonia, whose business it should be to make a good choice of purchases at every price. It is well known that the Russian merchants, whose aid is had recourse to by maritime powers, keep for their own nation the finest masts; that the English, more active and less parsimonious than their competitors, purchase some of these, and that other powers obtain none but what are of a secondary quality. If the Spaniards would imitate them, the sum they might sacrifice in the speculation would produce more than an equivalent by the advantage of procuring the best stores, and that of avoiding the risk of being surpris'd, unprepared, into a naval war.

They are still nearer the time of being independent of other powers for the hemp necessary for their navy. For many years they received from
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the north all they made use of in their navy; but at present the kingdom of Granada furnishes a great quantity, and some is obtained from Navarre and Arragon. At this moment most of the cordage, cables, and sail-cloth used in Spain, are made from hemp grown in the country, and are not on this account of a worse quality, as the officers of the French navy, which during the late war was supplied with them from the Spanish arsenals, may have observed.

The Spaniards have also adopted from the English the method of sheathing the bottoms of their ships of war with copper, but for want of knowing how to prepare for the purpose the copper from Mexico, they have hitherto imported all their sheets of that metal from Trieste and Sweden.

All these circumstances prove that Spain possesses within herself every thing necessary to her navy, and that after having long neglected these benefactions

of Nature, she now makes successful efforts to render it independent of other nations. To give an idea of the progress already made in this respect, under the princes of the Bourbon line, it will be sufficient to recollect, that under Philip V. Spain purchased from the Dutch, vessels ready built, and the cordage necessary for her fleets and galleons; from the French her sail-cloths; copper from the Germans; tin and lead for the service of the artillery from the English; and galleys from the Genoese. She let her timber rot upon the ground, and neglected the cultivation of hemp. Solely intent on the mines of Mexico and Peru, of which the rich contributions only served to impoverish the state, she neglected to work her own mines, which might have contributed to defend it; and thus war became doubly burthenfome to the nation. The evil became still greater under the reign of Charles II. but the succeeding monarchs have roused Spain from her fatal stupor. The nation, which waited but for this, entered

entered into their views, and found ministers capable of seconding them. The minister who presided over the naval department during the late war, was reproached with an improper œconomy. His successor, although introduced by him into the favour of the monarch, and brought up in the same principles, makes a wiser use of his power, and seems convinced, that to serve his sovereign well, it is not so necessary to prevent him from incurring expences, as to be particularly careful to confine them to such objects as are useful.

The navy naturally leads me to speak of commerce; that of Spain is perhaps divided into more branches than the commerce of any other power of Europe,

At the æra of its greatest splendour, it was impossible for it to be more active. Foreign merchants went into the center of the kingdom to exchange their merchandize against the productions of the soil and manufactures. But under the
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successors of Charles V. these advantages vanished, and Spain, during a long time, was confined to a passive commerce. The very few vessels she employs in this are at once the cause and proof of the change; although agriculture and industry be still far from the prosperity to which they tend, had Spain only herself to furnish with the merchandize she wants, that which she sends into neighbouring kingdoms might perhaps balance what she receives from them.

In the first place she possesses all the necessaries of life in abundance. We have spoken of her wools; and when we treat of Valencia we shall see what resources she derives from her silk. Her brandies, rich wines, fruits, barilla, &c. form, for the eastern and southern coasts, a considerable branch of exportation. She makes all the common wines necessary to the consumption of the kingdom. Agriculture if more encouraged would furnish corn sufficient for
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home consumption, and leave a surplus for exportation.

Notwithstanding the present backward state of the country, some of the provinces, as Andalusia and Old Castile, produce more corn than they can consume; but the difficulty of inland carriage renders this fertility almost useless to the rest of the kingdom, which is sometimes at the mercy of foreigners, whilst certain districts enjoy abundance. Besides, with respect to the regulations concerning grain, there is nothing stable, nothing encouraging for the husbandman.

Besides being obliged by the periodical journeyings of the sheep, and the privileges of the *mesta*, extended to the proprietors of permanent flocks, to leave his fields open in all seasons, and that from the day after harvest to that on which he sows them again, they are less his property than that of the public; nor can he depend upon a certain market for

for the surplus of their productions. Until the present reign, the exportation of grain had been prohibited almost without interruption, and the price of corn invariably fixed. The inconvenience of these shackles was at length perceived. M. de Campomanes, at that time fiscal of the council of Castile, had long condemned the measure, but was almost the only person in power who gave himself any concern about it. At length, aided by the monarch, whom he had persuaded to adopt his opinion, he took off the prohibition,

In 1765, it was established by a royal mandate, that the interior commerce of grain should be absolutely free; that it should be permitted to store it in magazines, but that these should be public; and that to supply pressing necessities, corn should be taken thence at the current price; that a power should be granted to take grain from the magazines, when after three successive markets, it should have continued at a certain price; that corn from abroad might
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be introduced and stored in magazines within the country as far as six leagues from the sea; but not further, unless that in three successive markets of the neighbouring districts it had not exceeded the price at which it ought to be sold to enable the purchaser to make exportations. The representations from some provinces, and the measures of the council of Castile, occasioned several alterations in this regulation. The exportation of grain was prohibited in 1769; but the regulation of 1765 was wholly re-established by the mandate of the month of February 1783.

These variations must increase the timidity and indolence of cultivators. To encourage them to derive all possible advantages from their lands, a more permanent law would be necessary, and one especially which should be better observed. For that which permits exportation is incessantly eluded by the caprice or avarice of the alcaldes and governors of the frontiers; and when nothing is opposed to its application
(which

(which is a rare case, corn being almost constantly above the price fixed for that purpose) there are still many formalities to go through, before the exportation can take place. This is therefore rare, and but to a trifling degree in the manner authorized by law. The slow, painful, and expensive manner of carriage in Spain, is an insurmountable obstacle to the smuggling of that quantity of corn from the kingdom which is supposed to leave it illegally.

The small quantity of legal exportations, can therefore be attributed to nothing but the continual mediocrity of the harvests; it is certain that Galicia and Asturia frequently receive corn from abroad, although the people there consume a great deal of Turkey wheat; that Biscay takes some from the province of Alava, from Navarre, and Arragon, and sometimes from foreign nations by the way of St. Sebastian; that all the eastern coast of Spain is in continual want of supply, and that the kingdom of Valencia receives it from abroad, when La Mancha,

Mancha, in which corn almost constantly abounds, cannot furnish it with a sufficient quantity ; and, lastly, that Andalusia, notwithstanding its fertility, receives grain from other countries by means of its ports of Cadiz and Malaga. The exportation of grain could not be advantageously made, except by the frontiers of Portugal. This kingdom seldom reaps enough for its own consumption, and the neighbouring Spanish provinces might produce it in abundance.

There is no considerable superfluity of corn in any province of Spain, except in Old Castile, and this is sent from St. Ander, and some neighbouring ports in Galicia, Asturia, Andalusia, and even to France ; this happened in 1782 and 1783, when the southern provinces of that kingdom were threatened with a dearth. This exportation is not made without great opposition from the rooted prejudices of Old Castile, which however ought not to weigh against experience ; since the regulation of 1765
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was justified by an increase of almost a third in the produce.

About the same time, a measure was adopted for the encouragement of agriculture, by instituting the *positos*. These are magazines of corn, established in upwards of five thousand cities, towns, and villages in the kingdom, to insure subsistence to the people against all accidents, and to prevent alarms, which in such cases are often equivalent to real evils. When it is intended to establish one of these *positos* in any place, the municipal corps (*ayuntamiento*) obliges every inhabitant who has a field, either in fee or at a quit-rent, to contribute thereto a certain number of *fanegues* (a measure of wheat weighing, in some places, ninety pounds) the price of which is about four livres tournois (3d. 4d.) The year following, the inhabitant takes back what he has furnished, and substitutes for it another quantity, something more considerable; and thus in the following years until the whole of the different quantities depo-

deposited, which is called *creces*, has sufficiently filled the magazine.

But this period is retarded at the will of avarice, and there are few *positos* in Spain, the management of which does not enrich the administrators at the expence of the poorer classes of the people. However, this branch is at present in the hands of a vigilant minister *, who endeavours to remedy all abuses, and re-establish the *positos* according to their original destination, that they may tend to the encouragement of cultivators, and is determined, if possible, to apply the exceedings to the assistance of those who may be in want of grain for sowing their lands. These public magazines, which in practice are burthensome to the poor, and but a feeble resource to the rich, must not be confounded with the magazines of corn,

* The count of Florida-Blanca, who is properly seconded by a magistrate of equal abilities and integrity, Don Juan de Acedo Rico.

established in several places, by the charity of individuals, to furnish poor husbandmen with the means of sowing their lands. Besides these, there are at Valencia and Malaga other beneficent establishments, whose object likewise is the encouragement of agriculture. These are named *erarios*, and consist of funds destined to make advances in money to labourers, for a year only. These funds were taken from the produce of the *spolios y vacantes*.

The permission to export grain, the establishment of the *positos*, and like remedies, will be but feeble palliatives of the evil which still occasions agriculture to languish in Spain, until internal communication shall be facilitated by making the roads passable in all seasons, and especially by the construction of canals and the aid of navigable rivers, two objects to which we have seen that government has already turned its attention.

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At present the interior commerce of Spain chiefly consists in wine and oil, which are carried in leathern bottles by mules or asses from one province to another; in grain, which in like manner, by the aid of beasts of burden, is the superfluity of one district transferred to another, to prevent the scarcity to which that other may be exposed; and in wool sent from the sheep-folds and washing-places of Castile to Bilboa, St. Ander, and some other ports of the northern coast. Materials necessary to the manufactures and merchandize, which from the ports or frontiers pass into the interior parts of the kingdom, are transported thither by the same slow and consequently expensive conveyance.

It has been calculated* that the difference between the prices of water and land carriage, even upon the best roads of France, is in the proportion of one

* See the excellent work of M. de Fer de la Nouere, *Sur l'Economie dans les travaux publics.*

to a hundred and fifty. We may judge by this calculation what Spain will gain, when she comes to have the full use of the canals already begun in the kingdom, or of which the plans are adopted. In the mean time let the Spaniards continue to level their uneven roads, which in mountainous countries are often impassible in a bad season, and they will be able more generally to substitute carriages to beasts of burthen, and make some progress in facilitating conveyance.

Spain is not much farther advanced in the coasting trade. Excepting the vessels of Catalonia and those of Biscay, the carrying trade along the coast is almost wholly in the hands of the French, Dutch, and English, three nations which have the advantage of being more active and who understand to navigate their vessels at a less expence, and with fewer hands than the Spaniards. What has hitherto obliged Spain to employ a greater number of sailors, is the state of perpetual war
she.

she is in against the Moors of Barbary, which has besides the inconvenience of diminishing the confidence her flag might inspire. The present minister is in a fair way to remove this chief obstacle to the prosperity of Spanish navigation in the Mediterranean.

The peace he has lately concluded with the regencies of Africa, is undoubtedly an essential part of his system, which at once embraces agriculture, industry, and navigation. He perceived that these three objects were indissolubly united, and rejecting the exclusive principles which favoured one at the expence of the others, has made them aid each other and mutually concur to remedy the national inaction. In vain would he have endeavoured to encourage the cultivation of commodities, and the produce of first materials, of which the manufactures and workshops are in expectation, had he not provided the means of facilitating their circulation by roads and canals, and of promoting

moting the exportation of the productions of the soil and manufactures, by rendering the navigation less expensive and more certain. The success of this plan, equally extensive and well digested, must soon produce effects to the advantage of the foreign commerce of Spain.

In this point of view particularly, is it that Spain acts but a passive part. I shall soon convince my readers of this by taking a view of the coasts. In the first place those of Catalonia are an exception. But few of the reproaches alleged against the Spaniards are applicable to the Catalonians. When we cross their well cultivated province, and see it full of manufactures of various kinds, we find it difficult to believe it belongs to Spain. The port of Barcelona exports its silks, middling cloths, and cottonades, its indians, wines, brandies, and other productions; and if we wish to judge of the part the Catalonians take in this commerce, it must be

be observed that in 1782, of six hundred and twenty-eight vessels which entered Barcelona, three hundred and seventeen belonged to Spain. It is true that silks from Lyons, stockings from Nîmes, several kinds of stuffs and cottons, notwithstanding the prohibition, and particularly dried cod, an article for which Spain is yet tributary to the English in the sum of three millions of piastras, pass into Catalonia by the same port.

It is a remarkable singularity in the history of commerce, that a protestant nation should furnish a catholic kingdom with an article which that nation only can prepare according to the taste of the consumers, by fetching from their own coasts * the salt necessary to cure the fish taken upon the banks of Newfoundland, an island discovered by the Spa-

* The salt with which the English salt their cod is brought from Setubal and Alicant : whither their ships, sometimes come in ballast to load with salt thence to proceed to Newfoundland.

niards, and where they long exercised the right of fishery ; and as if this species of servitude were irrevocably decreed by fate, all the attempts hitherto made to substitute fish taken on the coasts of Biscay and Asturia, resembling English cod, have been ineffectual, and have proved that laws, policy, and even interest, disappear before the caprices of taste.

The other ports of Catalonia are much in the same situation as that of Barcelona. Tarragona, and the neighbouring ports receive, in addition, some articles of necessity, and export dry fruits. Tortosa exports or imports wheat, according as the harvests of Arragon and Catalonia are good or bad ; but the principal article of exportation from this port is pot-ash.

A considerable commerce is also carried on in the ports upon the coast of Valencia, and which is chiefly in favour of France. The French send to Valencia
linens,

linens, woollens, hardware, spiceries, and grain, to almost as great an amount as the wines, wool, dried fruits, pot-ash, and barilla, which they take from thence. They go to Gandia in search of the wool used by the manufacturers of Languedoc and Elbeuf, and carry with them French cloths, silks, linens, hardware, and cocoa. The English also carry thither their cloths; and the Dutch export thence the brandies of the country, to transport them to the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne.

The commerce of Alicant is less disadvantageous to Spanish navigators. Of nine hundred and sixty-one vessels, which arrived in this port in 1782, six hundred were Spanish, the greatest part Catalonian. French linens, those of Switzerland and Silesia, French camblets and some woollens, are brought thither, and the return is in dried fruit, wool, barilla, &c.

To Carthagen, the English, Dutch, and Neapolitans carry merchandize of all

all kinds, and return loaded with filk, wool, pot-ash and barilla.

Almeria is a small port, the principal commerce of which is in the hands of the French, whose ships carry thither the productions of their manufactures, and return loaded with lead, pot-ash, &c.

Wine and fruits are exported from Velez, Malaga, and Marbella.

Malaga has a very considerable commerce, the advantage of which is entirely in favour of Spain, but almost without any to its navigation; of eight hundred and forty-two vessels which arrived at this port in 1782, from almost every commercial nation, scarcely a hundred were Spanish, even reckoning the ships of war which anchored there. The English, who are in possession of the greatest part of the trade, carry thither woollens and great quantities of small ware; the Dutch carry spice, cutlery ware, laces, ribbons, thread, &c. These nations, those of the north,
and

and Italy, export to the amount of two millions and a half of piaſtres in wines, fruits, ſumach, pickled anchovies, oil, &c. and all they carry thither amounts only to about a million and a half. The balance would be ſtill more advantageous for Malaga, if the ſilk and wool of the kingdom of Granada were exported from this port; but theſe are employed in the country where they are produced.

Cadiz, the commerce of which I ſhall not here mention, becauſe I ſhall ſpeak of it at ſome length in another place, is a ſtriking proof of the inactivity of Spaniſh navigation. A thouſand and thirty-three veſſels arrived there in 1782, of which but fifty belonged to Spain. The neighbouring little ports of St. Lucar and St. Mary, in like manner, afford but little employment for the veſſels of the nation.

If we paſs from the coaſts of Andaluſia to the northern coaſt of Spain, we ſhall find the French, Engliſh and Dutch

44 THE PRESENT STATE

Dutch in possession of the trade from Vigo, Ferrol, and particularly from Corugna, and which mostly consists in importation ; for the pilchards, cattle, and common linens, the only articles Galicia has to export, serve to pay the balance due to the neighbouring provinces.

Corugna owes to the present reign a feeble commerce of exportation which it has to America by the packet-boats, that sail every month for the Havannah, and every two months for Buenos-Ayres. These were eighteen in number, when the late war began. Several fell into the hands of the enemy, but were afterwards replaced. The conveyance of packets and passengers is the principal object of their institution ; but it occasionally furnishes the means of exportation to the productions of Galicia. They employ about eight thousand sailors, and enliven the circumjacent countries.

Upon the coast of Asturias there are eighteen ports, scarcely known to have
a name,

a name, the trade of which is almost exclusively in the hands of the Dutch. A little before the late war the English and French, who had been driven from them by preceding wars, appeared there again with linens, woollens, and small ware. Some vessels from the country however sail to France and England in search of what is necessary to supply the wants of the province; and since the establishment of a free commerce with America, the trade of Gijon, the most important of these ports, begins to acquire some activity.

The country adjacent to the Asturias is called the *Montanas de Burgos*; and is one of the districts of Spain the most unprovided with resources. Government considered this when it permitted this district to receive the necessaries of life duty free. The treasury was not long before it repented of the concession, under favour of which all sorts of foreign merchandize were introduced by
the

the ports of this coast, and administration has recently taken measures to prevent future abuses.

Saint Ander is the principal of these ports ; it receives, by about a hundred French vessels, everything they can furnish to consumption of every kind. These ships return loaded with wool for the manufactures of France, and corn for the other Spanish provinces, and sometimes for those of their own kingdom. The English export from Saint Ander the same articles, in exchange for cod, oil, fish, &c. and employ, in this commerce, about forty vessels. Some Dutch and Hamburgh vessels trade thither also. The establishment of a free commerce has begun to animate the national navigation. The neighbouring ports, such as those of Suances, Comillas, and St. Vincent de la Barquera carry on a little coasting trade with the barks of the country. Santona, which has an excellent port, sends some vessels loaded with chest-

chestnuts to Holland and a few cargoes of lemons to France.

The trade of this coast, which, as we have seen, is almost wholly in the hands of foreigners, approaches to an equality with that of Biscay, the most active commerce in Spain after that of Catalonia.

The principal ports of Biscay, Bilboa, the Passage, and St. Sebastian, are much frequented by the English, French, and Dutch, who carry thither the productions of their industry, and return with iron, wool, and anchors. But the Biscayners are not idle spectators; they furnish in a great measure foreign merchandize to the Mediterranean provinces, and their ships have a constant communication with the other ports of the peninsula, and those of France, England, and Holland. St. Sebastian has a long time been the center of commerce for the province of Caracas; and although the company of this name has no longer the form

form of an exclusive company, the Biscayners will, for a considerable time, have the advantage in this trade over their competitors.

A few words upon the trade of the Mediterranean islands, which make a part of the crown of Arragon, will complete this slight sketch of the commerce of Spain.

The island of Majorca, the principal one of the three, produces wine and fruits which are sent to Spain, some brandies, taken by vessels from the north, a little silk which goes to Catalonia, and coarse wools sent to Sardinia and Italy. It receives corn from the French and Italian ports, cattle from those of Languedoc and Catalonia, and rice and silks from the coasts of the kingdom of Valencia. The French, English, and Dutch carry to it all the other articles of which it has need: but the French possess three-fourths of the commerce of the island. The people of Majorca, like the inhabitants

bitants of most islands, have an inclination and aptitude for navigation. Their ship-timber is made use of at Palma, which is their principal port; they fetch cocoa, sugar, iron, and planks from Marseilles; and their xebecks go to Cadiz, where they take in cargoes. Their flag, more exposed than any other to the insults of the rovers of Barbary, their fierce neighbours, may hereafter be displayed with greater security in the Mediterranean, and their port of Palma being one of those which since 1778, has a right to trade with Spanish America, must still increase their industry.

This for a long time will not be rivalled by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Minorca. This island, unfruitful and almost without industry, was furnished with every thing by foreign vessels, and particularly by those of France, before it was conquered by Spain. I know not whether the change will be advantageous to the inhabitants with respect to their

commerce or not, it has only appeared to me that they were in doubt what might be its effect.

Ivica, the third of the islands anciently called the Balearic, exports but little, and receives its supplies of necessaries from Majorca and the coasts of Spain. Its principal riches consist in salt, of which foreign ships, particularly Swedish, come thither to take in their cargoes.

These accounts are more than sufficient to prove that the commerce the Spaniards have with foreigners is but passive. But the establishment of patriotical societies, the construction of roads and canals, and particularly the extension of the free commerce with Spanish America, must produce a new order of things. I have sufficiently spoken of the two first beneficial sources; and the third only now remains to be considered.

After

After the conquest of Spanish America, the court of Madrid confided the administration of that country to a permanent council, under the name of the *Council of the Indies*, which still subsists, with nearly the same laws and principles, that, according to circumstances, were at first adopted. The form of administration which government gave, at the same time, to its vast possessions, is no part of my subject; this would be a work above my abilities, and would besides lead me too far from my purpose: I shall say no more of it than what will be necessary to give a proper knowledge of modern Spain, with respect to her connexions with her colonies.

The council of the Indies is, in many respects, modelled upon the council of Castile: like the latter it is composed of several chambers, two of which are especially charged with affairs of administration, and the third with the decision of law suits. It has also its *camara* composed of the oldest counsellors, one of

whose principal functions is to propose to the king, by means of his minister, such persons as it judges proper to fill the places of vice-roy, governor, and other magistrates, and to hold bishoprics and benefices in Spanish America. It is by this council also that the laws and regulations by which that country is governed are framed, and there are very few measures which the minister of the Indies can take without having, although it be but for the sake of form, the sanction of the council. This having been the permanent depositary of the fundamental laws upon which the constitution of Spanish America was at first erected, it has been, and perhaps too obstinately, an enemy to all measures by which it might undergo any change.

One of these laws confined the commerce of Spain, with her colonies, to a single Port; at first that of Seville: but when the Guadalquivir, which in the time of Charles V. was navigable up to this port, became inaccessible to large vessels, the
center

center of the Spanish American commerce was removed to Cadiz. The manner in which it was carried on is generally known.

At stated times a fleet sailed to Mexico to furnish a supply of such articles as were necessary for that country, and bring back the productions of that part of America to Cadiz. At the same time galleons sailed for Porto Bello. In this port was held a kind of fair, the rendezvous of all the merchants from the other Spanish colonies. This was continued until the war which begun in 1732, when register ships were substituted to galleons. But the fleet for Mexico, and the register ships, continued to sail from Cadiz.

The coast of Caracas only received its supply of merchandize from another port. The care of furnishing this had been confided by Philip V. to a company which took the name of that of Guipuscoa, from the province in which it was

instituted, and the ports whence the vessels sailed. The company enjoyed all the advantages of an exclusive privilege, without having received it in form.

A bad administration, by enriching the agents, and exciting complaints from the settlers at Caracas has occasioned it to decline. The check it received at the beginning of the last war * gave it the finishing stroke ; the company then felt the burthen too heavy to be supported, and prayed the king for his assistance.

His catholic majesty released the company from the obligation it was under to keep *Garda Costas*, which were an expence of two hundred thousand piaſtres per ann. though they did not do their duty, as the settlers of Caracas received much more

* I mean the taking of the convey from Biscay in the month of January 1780, by Admiral Rodney. The loss sustained by the company on this occasion was estimated at fifteen hundred thousand piaſtres ; and it was said, that sum was equal to the whole real property of the company.

mer-

merchandize from smugglers than from the company. The latter lost nothing by the change; its shares had become treble the original purchase, thanks to the insufficiency of the articles furnished, to the exorbitant price at which they were sold, and to that the company laid upon its returns. The company preserved the same means of carrying on the commerce of Caracas with great advantage over the new competitors, who were to be associated with it. In the year 1785, it was employed in liquidating its capital. The court of Spain had already permitted some individuals to make voyages to the coast of Caracas, then greatly distressed by the depredations of the enemy's privateers, and the more prejudicial austerity of the governor. But I have known intelligent people in Spain who doubted of the happy success of these new regulations.

The experiment made in favour of the settlers of Caracas was a step towards new attempts of the same kind. In 1755 Ferdinand VI. permitted a com-

pany of merchants at Barcelona to send out ships to St. Domingo, Porto Rico and Margareta ; but the privilege was clogged with so many restrictions that the company made no use of it.

In 1763, the dawn of a new day began to appear in Spanish America. Several understanding persons had perceived and wished to make government sensible of the inconvenience of confining to a single port, and to periodical voyages, all the commerce of the extensive colonies in that quarter of the world. An attachment to old forms for a long time rendered their remonstrances ineffectual: two arguments were opposed to them, which were the more embarrassing as they were the result of the experience of two distant periods. It was observed that under Charles V. a free commerce had been attempted to be established, but that soon afterwards it was found necessary to restore the former restrictions. It was further added, that from 1748 to 1754, register ships

ships had sailed from other ports of Spain than that of Cadiz ; and that the numerous failures which followed in consequence soon caused the measure to be abandoned. But those who made these objections did not observe that more precautions on the part of government, and regulations better adopted to the time and the nature of the different expeditions, must have prevented the ruinous speculations of the new adventurers ; that Spanish America, better known by its wants than its resources, at least to government, could no longer embarrass merchants with the same obstacles, provided they submitted their operations to its inspection. The wants of the Spanish colonies daily increased ; and obliging all the vessels which went to relieve them to depart from one port, was on one hand exposing the colonists to a monopoly, and on the other leaving too great an opening to the speculations of smugglers.

A tarif

A tarif drawn up in 1720, seemed to have been calculated for the advantage of those who pursued this illicit trade. It loaded with duties of export to America the productions of the mother country, such as iron, wines, brandies, oil, &c. It established the duty of *Palmeo*, which was received upon the bales, not according to the quality of the merchandize, but in proportion to their dimensions; a duty which thus favoured high priced articles, that occupy but little space, at the expence of those which require considerable room, and rendered it impossible to take any account of the quantity or quality of foreign stuffs shipped for the colonies. The tariff moreover subjected the manufactures of Spain to the same duties as those from foreign countries; in a word, it prescribed a number of formalities perplexing to legal commerce; and smuggling added to the advantage of eluding them, that of defrauding government of duties of exportation and importation to the amount of sixty per cent.

cent. The English had so much profited by this, that according to calculations which I have reason to believe exact, their contraband trade produced them after the peace of 1763 twenty millions of piastres per annum.

The court of Spain lost no time in endeavouring to frame other regulations for a part of the colonies. By a decree of the 16th of October 1783, several European ports were permitted to trade immediately with the Carribbees, and the provinces of Campeachy, St. Martha and Rio de la Hacha. The decree diminished the duties of the fatal tarif of 1720, and dispensed with many formalities. Its effect was not at first very sensible. The Spaniards, ever tardily circumspect, were not eager to enter this new channel.

The island of Cuba became the principal object of speculation. Yet in 1770 this island, which well cultivated, might supply all Europe with sugar, did not furnish enough for the consumption of Spain.

Spain. Speculations have since become more enterprizing. Government has given new encouragement to the trade with the Havannah, especially by facilitating the importation of negroes, by a considerable diminution of the duty paid on their being carried thither. The company exclusively permitted to furnish them, had almost ruined itself in the undertaking; but these new measures soon gave it the means of repairing its losses. The island of Cuba, which had constantly languished under the auspices of the exclusive company of the Havannah, began from that moment sensibly to prosper. Before the year 1765, it scarcely received into its ports six ships in a year; in 1778, its commerce gave employment to more than two hundred. Its crops of sugar were more than sufficient to supply the demands of Spain; and although these sugars were at that time eight per cent. dearer than those of France, it was foreseen that they would soon enter into competition with them in the European markets.

Like

Like successes justified the measures taken in 1765, and invited the court of Spain still further to enlarge its plan. The department of the Indies had just been bestowed on one whose enterprising character, knowledge and experience permitted him not to remain satisfied with such timid experiments. By a decree of the 2d of February, 1778, the free commerce was extended to the province of Buenos Ayres, and the kingdoms of Chili and Peru; and by another decree, of the 16th of October following, to the vice-royalty of Santa Fé, and the province of Guatimala. It therefore was now permitted to all Spanish America, except Mexico.

The last decree regulated the new form to be given to the free trade; and admitted to a participation in it the ports of Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Alicant, Carthagen, Barcelona, St. Ander, Gijon, Carugna, Palma in the island of Majorca, and St. Croix in Teneriffe one of the Canary Islands.

As

As all ships which should hereafter sail from these ports were to pass by the custom-houses, those of Biscay, one of the privileges of which consists in not having any such houses, were by the silence of the new regulation excluded from this trade. Government has attempted to persuade the Biscayners to permit custom-houses in their ports, with the view of an immediate commerce with Spanish America; but this temptation, as we have observed in another place, has not induced them to abandon their privileges; and hitherto those merchants of Biscay who have sent vessels to the Indies, have been obliged to fit them out from the nearest port to their coast; a troublesome formality, which, however, has appeared to them less disagreeable than the admission of revenue officers. The regulation of 1778, extends the free commerce to twenty-four ports of Spanish America, and favours, by lowering the duties, such of them as were in need of that advantage to be frequented.

This

This is not the only proof of beneficent policy contained in the regulation. One of the principal objects of its author, was to encourage the productions of the soil and manufactures of the mother country. In consequence of which, several articles are there exempt from duties for ten years from the date of the decree ; such as woollens, cotton, and linens of the manufacture of Spain ; hats, steel, glass, and a hundred other articles of which the enumeration would be too tedious.

With the same view the regulation actually excluded many articles of foreign merchandize, such as cotton stuffs, half-beaver hats, silk stockings, and liquors of all kinds, as wine, oil, brandy, and others, known in Spain by the appellation of *caldos*.

And still more to excite the Spaniards to export to the Indies the productions of their country, the regulation exempts
from

from a third of the duty every vessel wholly laden with national merchandize.

The regulation of 1778 tends not less to the prosperity of the colonies than to that of the mother country; it wholly exempts from duty, on being shipped from America, a great quantity of the productions of the country, as cotton, sugar, cochineal, indigo, coffee, copper, jesuits-bark, and all productions, as well of the Spanish Indies as of the Philippines, which have not yet been brought to Europe.

The precious metals of America make a separate article. Gold, on entering Spain, paid a duty of five per cent. and silver one of ten per cent. The new regulation fixes these duties at two and five and a half per cent. and, had the minister had it in his power, the duty of four per cent. upon the exportation of piastres from Spain, would in like manner have been reduced to the half. Certain articles of merchandize coming
from

from the Indies are necessary to the Spaniards who consume or manufacture them. The exportation of these to foreign kingdoms is absolutely prohibited by the regulation: the principal ones are silver in ingots, gold in every form, spun cotton, and ship timber.

America produces many other articles little known in Europe, and of which Spain ought to favour the exportation. The regulation which exempts them from export duties on leaving the Indies, extends the exemption to their exportation from Spain. Such are certain woods, gums, plants and drugs with which America abounds. These may supply luxurious enjoyments, and preserve or restore the health of the inhabitants of the old Continent; and though placed by Nature at a distance from them, ought long since to have been rendered common in Europe by commerce.

All these measures would have been insufficient, if the court of Madrid had

suffered the numerous duties established by the tariff of 1720 to remain.

The new regulation abolishes them all, and substitutes in their stead a single duty, which is a certain part of their value. It is accompanied by a tariff, in which the various articles of merchandize are estimated; iron by weight, cloths by measure, stuffs by the piece, and other articles by the dozen. Those which cannot be thus valued, are taken at the current price of the manufactories whence they come, if they be Spanish; or according to the price they bear in the port in which they were shipped, if foreign. According to these different valuations, which, as it appears, leave but little room for arbitrary decisions, the tariff subjects all national merchandize to a duty of three per cent. and foreign goods to one of seven per cent. when either are shipped for any one of the great ports of America; that is to say, the Havannah, Carthagena, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Callao, Arica, Guayaquil,

aquil, Valparayso and Conception ; and the duty is but one and a half, or four per cent. when national or foreign merchandize is shipped for one of the lesser Indian ports.

Notwithstanding the wisdom of the intentions with which the regulation was drawn up, it excited many complaints. It left, said the complainants, much to be desired with respect to the encouragement meant to be given to national productions ; some of which were highly taxed, such as iron, oil, wines, brandies, &c. Why did it still leave the duties to which woollens, linens, cottons, silks, &c. were subject in passing from one province to another ? On the other hand, why were articles of foreign manufacture excluded from the commerce of America, to which the national manufactures could not long be sufficient, particularly the article of silk stockings ? Was not this inviting the manufacturers of Spain, convinced of their inability, to engage

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with foreigners for a supply? And must not this necessary succour, easy to be obtained in spite of prohibitions, cause their manufactures to languish by favouring idleness? The heaviest complaint was against the troublesome formalities to which the regulation subjected the expeditions from the ports of Spain to America. Merchants were exposed to the caprices of favour and the inconvenience of delay, which, added to a duty of seven per cent. to be eluded as well in exports as imports, and to absolute prohibitions of certain articles of merchandize, could not but offer seducing advantages to contraband speculations. Could the name of a *free* trade, said the complainants, be given to commerce thus shackled, for each operation of which an express permission was necessary from the minister; which intrigue, unwillingness, the slowness of the forms of office and intermediate agents might delay too long, and consequently render useless? Instead of the advantages of liberty, prohibitions; threats and punishments,

nishments, it was added, had been annexed to each article of the regulation.

The merchants of Madrid were the chief complainants. These only had hitherto had connexions with Spanish America; they were the only persons who had capitals sufficient for such distant expeditions, of which the returns were exposed to every kind of hazard. The associates given them in thirteen other ports of Spain would, said they, engage in ruinous speculations, which without benefiting the colonies would be a real loss to the commerce of Cadiz. The voice of self-interest was easily distinguished in these complaints. The experience of a few years has already been sufficient to determine whether or not they were well founded.

Those of which Mexico was the object, seemed to carry with them two more specious reasons. It was asked, why that vice-royalty only was excepted by the new law? If the law were to con-

tribute to the prosperity of the rest of Spanish America, could it be thought dangerous for Mexico only? If its success were uncertain, how had ministers dared to make a hazardous experiment upon such a vast extent of country? The partisans of administration replied, that not to expose at once the fate of all the colonies to the uncertainty of irregular voyages and adventures, it had been thought proper to leave a part subject to the ancient regulation of periodical succours; that the minister of the Indies chose the most populous colony, and at the same time that with which he was best acquainted; that Spain had not yet either vessels, capital, or merchants sufficient to rely upon the distant and uncertain inclination of individuals, to furnish this vast colony with succours. The reply to these arguments was, Do not confound the effect with the cause. If you want ships, merchants and capital, is it not because America, perhaps, does not yet offer all the openings she has to give to commerce?

merce? Open the ports of Mexico, and this will soon produce unbounded speculations; for there are many settlers in that colony, who have wants and desires, with abundant means of satisfying them; whereas the fleets you send thither only from time to time, and after long intervals, leave an immense opening to contraband trade, destroy the industry of the Mexicans, and expose them to the extortions of the avaricious and opulent, who engross the merchandize sent to Mexico for the consumption of four or five years.

The minister of the Indies had undoubtedly still stronger reasons for not changing the manner of supplying Mexico, and notwithstanding all the complainants may alledge, that province, with which he is thoroughly acquainted, and which is one of the chief objects of his care, owes to him its prosperity in more than one respect, and the advantage of rendering that prosperity useful to the other colonies and the mother

country. The corn now produced there is sufficient for its consumption, and will soon contribute to furnish a part towards that of all Spanish America. The cultivation of tobacco, confined however to two districts in the neighbourhood of Mexico, by offering a new gratification to the Mexicans, has increased the revenue of Spain.

The miners, in particular, of Mexico, have much reason to be satisfied with the present minister of the Indies, who by improving the works of the mine of Almaden, has furnished them with a great quantity of quicksilver. Before the time of M. de Galvez, this mine, situated near the Sierra Morena, produced but about seven or eight thousand quintals. The minister has almost doubled the produce, and made, with the miners of Mexico, an arrangement, by virtue of which he will furnish them, at forty-one great piastres per quintal, the quicksilver for which they formerly paid eighty piastres. This has given great activity to
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the working of the mines. Those of Mexico produced, in 1782, twenty-seven millions of great piastres, and would have produced thirty millions had not they wanted quicksilver; not that the rich source of Almaden is exhausted, but a defect in the construction of the galleries of that mine had retarded the works. Until this impediment shall be removed, the Spanish government has made an agreement, whereby it is to be furnished with six thousand quintals of silver the year for six years, from the mines of Idria in Austrian Istria, for which Spain is to pay about fifty-two great piastres the quintal. The miners of Mexico have reconciled themselves to this additional expence, to be enabled to continue the working of their mines with all possible vigour; the of reason this activity on their part is easily conceived.

The mines of which they are in possession, are a species of raw materials, which it is their interest to employ. The greater the produce the more considerable

considerable are the profits which result to the undertakers ; but does this exist in an equal proportion for the Spaniards of the Old Continent ?

This question was of magnitude sufficient to be considered. Our modern œconomists, supported by the experience of the last century, would not hesitate in resolving it ; they would say, and with them many good citizens beyond the Pyrenees, that the excessive increase of coin is diametrically opposite to the endeavours of Spain to render her manufactures flourishing ; that the price of every thing, as well in Spain as elsewhere, must be in proportion to the quantity of specie ; that if the progress of Spanish industry keeps in the kingdom the greatest part of the coin, hitherto destined to pay the balance of trade, the result will soon be that the high price of workmanship will again check industry in the midst of its career, and throw it back into that eternal

nal circle from which it will never be extricated.

According to this principle the œconomists, whose arguments I am now repeating, would say to the Spaniards; Instead therefore of extracting from your mines every thing they can possibly produce, rather shut up a part of them; confine the quantity of the precious metals sent to the Old Continent, to what is necessary to replace that which is insensibly lost, which luxury employs in ornaments, or avarice buries either in Asia or Europe. Follow the example of the Portuguese, who limit the working of their diamond mines, that their precious products may not become common; or that of the Dutch, who burn what spices remain after having provided for the demand of the consumers, which they carefully estimate. The silver of Mexico is your diamonds and spices; if you treble their quantity, your miners, whose hands might be more usefully employed, will be obliged to labour more,
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but you will not be more rich. You will pay three times the price for foreign productions, which will always continue to be more or less necessary to you.

I know not whether these arguments appear specious, but I can imagine the answer which would be made to them in Spain. We see nothing alarming, it would be said, in the increase of coin, which you represent as a thing so monstrous. In the first place it would produce a certain profit to the revenue, because it must augment, in the same proportion, the duties paid upon metals on their entrance into Spain. Now, whilst other states of Europe endeavour to increase their revenues, and find in them the means of supporting the great enterprizes of peace and war, we see not by what fatality Spain alone should find the means of decline in that which contributes to the prosperity of neighbouring kingdoms. We have the same observations to make upon her manufactures. When they shall be on a footing

ing with our mines, our coin will be increased by that which now pays for foreign industry, and by the surplus furnished us by Mexico and Peru. We therefore see nothing to be feared in this suggestion, and would ask our opponents what nations are most flourishing. Are they not England and France, indisputably those which have the greatest quantity of coin? What signifies the source whence it is derived? The combined produce of our mines and our industry, will nevertheless be very useful to Spain in the hands of rich individuals, who, in their turn, will embellish our cities and country, furnish capitals for public institutions, and from whom the state, in critical moments, may receive loans, and find less burthensome succours than heretofore. We however agree, that a time may arrive when our prosperity, carried to its greatest height, might bring with it our decline. This may happen when our manufactures shall be sufficiently active and improved to render foreign industry absolutely useless to us. If at
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the same time the produce of our mines constantly tended to augment the quantity of our current coin, without its finding a means of decrease, certainly this situation, which from the vicissitudes of human affairs ought to be looked upon as a chimera, would have an inevitable inconvenience. Such an excessive plenitude of the body politic would render an evacuation necessary, which would give it the most violent shock. The extreme high price of workmanship in Spain would invite thither, in spite of all prohibitions, every kind of foreign manufacture. The coin would be drained off by the channels which these would open to receive it; the national manufactures would languish for want of sale; workmen would disappear, as useless in future from want of employment, and Spain would again fall into depopulation, sluggishness and poverty. But we are far from being in such circumstances as could realize these melancholy ideas; and until a more imminent danger con-

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demns to inactivity our manufactures and mines, we may continue to derive from this two-fold source our future prosperity.

Whether this reasoning may be well or ill founded, it serves as a basis to the plan which Spain has for several years followed. Government is persuaded, that the greatest possible advantages must result from great activity in the manufactures, an abundant production from the mines, and a continual correspondence between the mother country and the colonies.

Some of the colonies have merited more particular cares than that of Mexico; these are Louisiana, Trinidad, and the Philippines.

From the moment Louisiana was ceded by the French to Spain, the court of Madrid, which to subjugate this colony had employed such vigorous measures as could not fail to render its yoke odious,

odious, endeavoured to soften its fate by granting to the inhabitants privileges proper to insure their prosperity, and the advantage of the mother country. In 1768, it was enacted, that merchandize going from Spain to Louisiana, and the productions received from that colony, should be exempt from all duties of exportation; and that the produce of the colony should pay a duty of but four per cent. upon entering Spain. But as those in the greatest abundance, such as tobacco, indigo, cotton, and particularly furs, could not find a great sale in Spain, it was agreed that French vessels might load with them at New Orleans, but that they should arrive there in ballast. This restriction was so frequently eluded, that the Spanish government saw the necessity of taking it off; and was moreover convinced, that the furs, skins, &c. of Louisiana could not be exchanged but for goods manufactured in France.

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The regulation of 1778, added to the privileges of Louisiana, a total exemption of duties for furs, &c. during ten years. Afterwards in 1782, Pensicola and West Florida having been added to the Spanish possessions within the Gulph of Mexico, it was established, that for ten years, reckoning from the conclusion of the peace, ships should be permitted to sail from French ports to Louisiana and Pensicola, and returns made of all the productions of the two colonies, and that the articles, as well exported as imported, should pay a duty of no more than six per cent. that in case of necessity the inhabitants should be permitted to furnish themselves with necessaries from the French American islands; and that the negroes, which they might procure from friendly colonies, should enter their ports duty free. The regulation expressly mentioned, that foreign merchandize received at Louisiana should be there entirely consumed. But this restriction has certainly been eluded; for considering the

numerous expeditions made to New Orleans in consequence of the regulation, many speculators would have ruined themselves had not their cargoes had other markets than that of Louisiana.

This very regulation of 1782 soon made further enlargements appear necessary; the people of Louisiana were to form no commercial connexions but with France, to which they were disposed by an attachment independent of treaties, and which is frequently stronger in proportion to the opposition it meets with. Had this intention been realized, the French would have deprived the contraband traders of the produce of their fraudulent commerce by way of Florida, and the north of the Mississippi, and would have had it in their power to have procured at an easy rate the furs, beaver skins, and other productions of Louisiana. Nevertheless as the inhabitants of this colony also consumed some foreign merchandize, such as Silesia linsens, English copper, &c. to leave the
French

French the whole profit of this new arrangement, it would have been necessary to obtain from the French government a free importation for these articles, which might afterwards have been shipped from the ports of that kingdom immediately to Louisiana. The Spanish minister had confided this negociation to M. Maxent, father-in-law to general Galvez, so advantageously known in the late war, and who previously had prepared the prosperity of Louisiana, by the mildness and wisdom of his administration. M. Maxent was not able to succeed in the negociation with which he was charged, and in 1785 it was presumed that the Spanish government had determined to extend to other foreign ports, such as Ostend, Amsterdam, Genoa, &c. a privilege which at first had been reserved for those of France.

Trinidad had for a long time been one of the most unprofitable of the Spanish colonies. Its situation at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, near the coast

of Terra Firma, the salubrity of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the excellence of some of its harbours, ought on the contrary to make it a valuable possession. This had not escaped the minister of the Indies, who that he might restore life to this dead member of the Spanish monarchy, added in 1776 the island of Trinidad to the department of the company of Caracas. This was but a trifle compared to what M. Galvez still intended to do for the island. In 1778 it was included in the new regulation. M. d'Avalos, intendant of the province of Caracas, a citizen full of zeal and information, of a firm and vigorous character, who has been harshly censured by the colonists confided to his care, but properly appreciated by the Spanish ministry, who have lately named him to the government of Andalusia, was consulted in 1779, upon the proper means of restoring it to new life. M. d'Avalos, from that moment, took upon himself to people and fertilise Trinidad. A Frenchman, not less active than himself,

self came very à-propos to second his intentions: this was M. de Saint Laurent, who, fixed by his possessions in the island of Granada, had passed under the dominion of England by the peace of 1763, and who, after the taking of the island, which he foresaw would not be restored to France, went to settle at Trinidad. He was perfectly acquainted with all the resources of the island, had connexions with all the Caribbee islands, and possessed, in a superior degree, the talent of inspiring confidence and benevolence by his sincerity and easy manners.

M. d'Avalos charged him to procure settlers for the island of Trinidad. M. de Saint Laurent, who knew that several persons in France and Ireland had already turned their views to that island, proposed, to engage them to determine upon it, a regulation which insured to them lands in proportion to their capital, and the number of blacks and whites that each colonist should take to the colony; which exempted for

ten years the exportation of their productions, and the entry of negroes, from all duties; and granted them other privileges less considerable, the enumeration of which would carry me too far beyond the bounds of my plan.

The regulation, approved of by M. d'Avalos, was published, by his order, at the beginning of 1780, without waiting for the consent of the court, and it produced a speedy effect. In the month of June, 1782, there were a hundred and seventy families of new colonists, who had brought with them a thousand and eighty-five slaves, and had nearly two hundred plantations for sugar, coffee, and cocoa.

This beginning was not, however, properly supported; the greatest part of the emigrants, upon whom M. d'Avalos reckoned, waited until the court of Spain should make a formal avowal of the promised privileges; and M. de St. Laurent came in 1783 to Europe to solicit,

solicit it. He had several conferences with the Spanish ministers, and presented to them memorials which had not the success he expected. To justify the promises he had made to the emigrants, he demanded privileges which were found incompatible with the laws of the Indies; and the council, the depositary of these laws, opposed to him the ancient inflexibility of its principles. He believed he had a personal right to the acknowledgements of Spain, and demanded them, perhaps, with that austere frankness which knows not how to ask for justice in the accents commonly employed in the solicitations of favour. In short, the fate of Trinidad, respecting which he possessed so much information, and to the prosperity of which he had in so many respects contributed, was decided without his concurrence*.

In

* This estimable man found himself, as the reward of his talents and labours, abandoned to all the anxieties caused by a derangement of property, when Marshal de Castries, who had found an op-

In the month of November 1783, a royal mandate granted to the new colonists of Trinidad, a part only of the privileges he had judged necessary; it permitted them a free trade with the French of Europe and the Caribbees, but stipulated that the commerce should be carried on in Spanish vessels, and left but the space of three years to acquire foreign ones. It exempted from duties, during ten years, all merchandize from Spain, and for five years that from France. It favoured the importation of cattle, with which the neighbouring continent abounds.

With respect to the importation of negroes, which the colony wanted, it was permitted with restrictions. Instead of requiring that all the colonists who wished to settle at Trinidad, should take negroes with them, it stipulated

portunity of becoming acquainted with his merit, recompensed him for the injustice and caprice of fortune, by nominating him commissary at Tobago.

that

that this island should serve as a depository for all those which foreign nations should bring thither. Spain could not do without these to furnish her colonies. At the expiration of the famous *asiento*, which the English had obtained at the peace of Utrecht, this charge was transferred to a company which had made Porto Rico the depository of all the negroes it bought at second-hand, whether from the Dutch at the Cape, or the English at Jamaica. The contract of the company expiring in 1780, Spain determined to make her own purchases of slaves. With this view government had acquired from Portugal, by the treaty of peace in 1778, two small islands near the coast of Africa. But, besides their being insufficient for the purpose intended, Spain still wants what is especially necessary for the negro trade; she has neither vessels properly built for the purpose, nor the merchandize most suitable to purchase negroes; she moreover wants seamen acquainted with the particular disorders to which these wretched

wretched slaves are subject; and surgeons, who understands how they should be treated; and until she thus becomes upon an equality with the nations used to this commerce, she will be obliged to have recourse to their assistance. Thus, during the late war, at the moment when the privilege of the company to which the furnishing of negroes was confided, was about to expire, Spain permitted all her colonists to procure them from the Caribbee islands belonging to foreign powers. But this means proved insufficient. Contraband commerce, with which the Spanish colonies are beset on all sides, to the detriment of the revenue but to the advantage of the colonists, supplied the greatest part. The Spanish minister, until he shall be able to take permanent measures to procure negroes, has given to foreign merchants some particular permissions to land them in the Spanish American ports. We have already seen what he established in favour of Trinidad; and at the same time an
Irish,

Irishman obtained the privilege of transporting four thousand slaves to that island, at a hundred and fifty piaftres a head. Still more lately the minister has contracted with an English commercial house, which has engaged to furnish negroes to the Havannah at a hundred and ninety-five piaftres a head for those of the best kind,

These facts, and several others I have adduced, incontestibly prove that Spain, far from being inattentive to her wants and those of the colonies, is vigilant in providing for them; and that the irresoluteness with which superficial persons may reproach the Spanish government, is the inevitable result of circumstances, and bears the marks of that laudable prudence which collects from every quarter the information necessary previous to fixing upon an invariable plan.

But the measure adopted by government, which most proves to what a degree

gree its attention is engaged in diffusing new life through every part of the monarchy, is the establishment of the company of the Philippine islands.

These islands, placed at the extremity of the world, relative to the mother country, and which, including the Ladrone islands, dependant upon them, form a more extensive possession than France, Spain and Italy, were not long since entirely useless to the Spanish monarchy, to which they might be made more profitable than any of its colonies. Not only all the necessaries of life are there found in abundance*, but great quan-

* Beasts of burthen, domestic animals, game and fish abound in these islands. They also produce great quantities of corn and rice; the vegetable kingdom in particular is there richly stored. This country, hitherto almost a maiden one with respect to botanical researches, produced to M. Sonnerat six thousand plants unknown in Europe; a precious treasure with which that learned naturalist enriched our Continent. On his return to Madrid there happened to him an odd circumstance, from which, how-

quantities of ship-timber, woods proper for dying, several iron mines, and rivers navigable a long way up the country. Cotton, tobacco, indigo, and sugar thrive in that soil; some gold is also found among the sand of certain rivers. The number of subjects who acknowledge the Spanish dominion is upwards of a million, without including the wild natives

however, I must beg the reader not to infer any thing against the taste of the Spaniards for the sciences. The produce of his researches was contained in a great number of cases, which upon their being landed were to be searched by the commissioner of the customs, that the proper duties might be paid upon their entry. The officer already significantly smiled at the profits which the bulky cargo would undoubtedly produce to the revenue. Before he consulted his tarif, he had the cases opened, and was not a little surprized to find in them nothing but dried insects, animals stuffed with straw, and plants curiously preserved in beds of moss or cotton. The officer, in other respects an estimable man, but undoubtedly no great lover of natural history, and somewhat mortified to find his tarif defective (for these kinds of merchandize were not taxed in it) exclaimed with an air of pity: *Good God! with what strange things these Frenchmen amuse themselves!*

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who live in the woods, and of which the enumeration would be almost impossible. But instead of profiting by so many advantages, Spain, sinking, if I may so speak, under the weight of her foreign possessions, resembles a great body with cloaths badly proportioned to its gigantic stature, and which will not cover one part of it without leaving another naked.

Let not therefore the inability nor the indolence of Spain be accused because the Philippines, its most distant colony, are abandoned to themselves and reduced to be only one of the principal depositories of the Indies. Convinced of the impossibility of establishing a regular and immediate commerce between them and the mother country, the kings who conquered them confined their efforts to bestowing on them a communication, by the port of Aca-pulco, with the western coast of Mexico. The famous *Nao* (Galleon) which every year makes the voyage from Manilla to

Aca-

Acapulco, across the South-Sea, is generally known. It was, for the most part, by this route that Spain communicated with the Philippines; a communication without profit for her European subjects, and of which the principal advantage was reaped by the Chinese, the Armenians and other nations who frequent the eastern ocean. Even the revenue derived no advantage from it; and the moderate produce of the duties was not sufficient to defray the expences incurred in their administration. The inhabitants of the Philippines, without cultivation or industry, had no other resource than the commissions to which their situation was favourable. Like Spain in Europe, the island of Luconia or Manilla, which is the principal of the Philippines, was only a channel through which the piastres of Mexico passed to the Indian nations; so that, notwithstanding the enormous sums of money which commerce has carried to these islands since, the
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time of their conquest, there remains in them but a very moderate quantity.

Their defence was as much neglected as their interior prosperity. It may be recollected with what ease they were taken in the war before the last, by the same general Draper who commanded at Minorca under general Murray when that island was surrendered to the duke de Crillon. Spain has profited by the lesson. The present monarch has ordered the port of Cavite or Cavina, at the bottom of which is situated Manilla, the capital of the island of Luconia, and the residence of the governor, to be fortified; and when the late war broke out, this important place was in a situation to brave the attacks of the very enemies to whom sixteen years before it had been so easy a prey.

This, however, was not sufficient. The minister of the Indies endeavoured to excite the industry of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their supineness,
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from which the appearance of gain only can awaken them, have the greatest aptitude to manufactures, agriculture, navigation, and the building of ships. Cotton manufactures were established at Manilla, and their productions have already proved, that if the inhabitants had until then been useless colonists, it was not from ignorance. At length, the minister of the Indies, seconded by M. Cabarrus, whose repeated successes had gained him universal approbation, took advantage of the general fermentation which inclined the nation to useful objects, to adopt a direct commerce from Spain to the Philippines.

Circumstances were propitious. After various fluctuations, credit and confidence seemed to be established; the Spaniards began to familiarise themselves to hazardous speculations; persons of property, become less timid, at length gave an employment to their capitals, which mistrust and an attachment to ancient forms had before prevented.

The company of Caraccas was dissolved, and the proprietors, about to receive their capitals, naturally wished for a speedy opportunity of placing them out again.

The time was favourable to the establishment of a new company, which undertaken under the most happy auspices, might inspire confidence and a desire of gain. The plan was discussed and approved of, in July 1784, in a junta composed of different members of administration, and at which the minister of the Indies presided. It was proposed to form a capital of eight millions of great piaftres, divided into thirty-two thousand shares, each of two hundred and fifty piaftres, and to employ this capital in trading from Spain to the Philippines. The advantages which Spain would have over the other European states, in carrying immediately from Mexico to these islands the piaftres which other nations could not convey thither but by a prodigious circuit, were

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enumerated. It was asserted that Spain, thus receiving from their source the merchandizes of India so much desired in Europe, would receive them upon better terms, might furnish them to her colonies and European subjects, and open to them a market with other nations.

The plan approved of by the junto, received the sanction of the king, and means were immediately sought to carry it into execution. The monarch and royal family gave the same example as they had done when the bank was established, and subscribed to the capital of the new company. To this were added, as we have formerly observed, twenty-one millions of reals, arising from exceedings of the value of the shares of the bank; and that the ardour which seemed to be awakened might not be abated by delay, directors and other persons were immediately named for the new establishment, and the patent of its institution was prepared and published.

It stated, that the vessels destined to this commerce should sail from Cadiz, double Cape Horn, put into the ports upon the coast of Peru, and thence take piastras sufficient to make their purchases, cross the South Sea to the Philippines, and bring their returns immediately to Cadiz, taking their course by the Cape of Good Hope.

This precipitate zeal, which seemed to be a contrast to the supposed slowness of the Spaniards, was seconded by a circumstance which happened very opportunely. The company of *Gremios*, of which we have several times spoken, had already attempted to send some ships to the Philippines; and, notwithstanding they had not succeeded, were preparing to make another experiment, when the plan of the new company was under consideration.

The *Gremios* were offered a part in the project, and had declined accepting the offer. They hastened the departure of the
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the vessel which was preparing for Manilla; but the elements, more favourable than their intentions to the minister, soon obliged it to return to Cadiz, after having received considerable damage. To have repaired and refitted it would have been expensive, and must have required time. Government offered to purchase the vessel and cargo, and the proposal was accepted. Thus was the first expedition undertaken by the Philippine company, in the moment even of its establishment, which may serve to give proper ideas upon the subject.

It may easily be imagined that opinions must be different according to the various points of view under which the company has been considered. I have heard the subject discussed, by persons of the best information, on both sides of the question, and cannot but acknowledge that, as a stranger, and wholly uninterested, I thought I discovered prejudice and exaggeration as well in the company's partisans as in its detractors;

on one side enthusiasm, which is always to be suspected ; on the other the language of defamation, against which it is equally necessary to be guarded. I will briefly relate the strongest objections I have heard against the Philippine company. They were made in a conversation, I had upon the subject, with a well-informed Spanish merchant, towards the end of the year 1785. I beg the reader to remember, that it is the merchant who speaks and not the author.

Could Spain, said he, be assured of six or seven years peace to lay the foundation of this institution, it might, perhaps, acquire a kind of temporary solidity. But what answer will government make to the following questions ?

How can Spain, which has, nearer home, colonies destitute of population and industry, think of making her most distant possessions flourish ? Is not the idea of astonishing the world by a vast
and

and brilliant project, the only motive for this preference?

But what can be expected from the new company, after the little success which those of Seville, the Havanah, and particularly that of Caracas have had, upon the ruins of which it is founded *. A like project was conceived in the reign of Philip V. The regulation, according to which the new commerce was to be prosecuted, was already prepared. The war which soon followed prevented its execution, and, at the return of peace, the project was no more thought of. Can we expect the Spaniards of the present age to be more fortunate, more active, and more persevering.

* We have observed, that the proprietors of shares in the company of Caracas, had been invited to place that part of their capitals, in future transferable, in the stock of the new company. The one was, if I may so say, founded upon the other; and of the three directors named to the new company, two had held the same station in that of Caracas.

Besides, to whom was the direction of this new company confided? To the same directors in whose hands the company of Caracas had just been dissolved. They might have much information relative to the coasts of Newfoundland; but in that kind of study, certainly, had not acquired much knowledge of the navigation of the Indian ocean.

Other nations have chosen the most enlightened persons to direct their speculations in distant parts of the world, those who had a thorough local knowledge, and were well acquainted with the resources and openings of their commerce, and had at the same time long established and continued communications with the particular country in question; nevertheless most of their enterprizes have had but precarious success; and Spain confides the direction of hers to three projectors, who have never passed the Cape of Good Hope, and have no other knowledge of the East-Indies than what they have acquired

quired from imperfect or suspicious narratives! Her navigators are slow and little experienced, and yet she flatters herself that she shall rival the English, French, and Dutch!

She has over them, say they, the advantage of an undisputed possession. These islands are situated commodiously for a highly profitable commerce, and Spain is able to send thither her silver in piastres, a commodity which exclusively belongs to her, and which is the principal article of this trade, on much lower terms than other nations.

This, undoubtedly, is the most favourable side of the undertaking: but to how many objections is it still liable?

The Philippines, in fact, incontestibly belong to Spain. She is not indebted for them to the forbearance of the Indians, to violence, or local circumstances which may hereafter change. Yet, how precarious is this possession, notwithstanding

standing all endeavours to render its principal port inaccessible, and to fortify and garrison Manilla the capital?

Is it forgotten that the island of Luconia is of considerable extent? In how many places may troops be landed, especially if aided by the kings of neighbouring islands, some of whom, as those of Joloo and Mindanao, are not to be despised, and by the unsubdued inhabitants of the island of Luconia, who leave to the Spaniards the peaceable possession of the coasts only, and upon the least signal would fall upon them from the tops of the mountains? I know not, added the merchant, what may be the dispositions of the powers to whom the undertaking may give umbrage; but will not the Spanish government deceive itself if it attributes their silence to inability or assent? What would become of the company if their vigilance, excited by interest, jealousy, and past experience, should create it embarrassments?

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How easy is it to injure at a great distance, to conceal the hand which strikes, and to disavow that whence the blow immediately comes, when the mischief is done and irreparable? Without being initiated in the mysteries of politics, I know one of these powers has pretended that the Spanish flag was excluded by treaty from the Indian ocean. I am also informed, that Spain has refuted these pretensions with arguments drawn from natural reason and political right, and that no reply was made to them. But is this silence to be taken for an avowal? Can Spain be certain, that after having peaceably formed her establishment, the fruits of it will not be snatched from her in the moment when she shall imagine she is about to reap them? More trifling causes have occasioned war, which may well be expected to arise from this fatal source, if the Colossus, she is at present placing on its base, cannot be otherwise overturned. Will it be said that she can prevent or brave the sword of her enemies

enemies by maintaining sea and land forces in the Philippines? But whence will she take them, without weakening herself in Europe, where certainly she possesses nothing superfluous in her fleets and armies? I foresee the answer; it will be alleged, she may embody natives of the island. The islands of Luconia abound in ship-timber, iron, hemp, and tar; Spain will establish dockyards there; that is, before there be in the island either industry, cultivation, or even a sufficient population, she will make it the center of a military establishment? Can it be supposed that other nations will suffer the Spaniards peaceably to avail themselves of all the resources which the Philippines offer for this purpose, if even more ability in administration, more activity in the servants of government, and more stability in the cabinet of Madrid should render the execution of such a project more easy?

I will

I will go still farther, continued the merchant, who began to grow warm ; I will suppose all these difficulties and dangers surmounted, and all the objections I have hitherto made removed ; I will suppose the Spaniards to have established their Philippine company without obstacle, and upon a national and firm basis. Yet where will it make its purchases ? where find a market for its returns ?

In the first place, the course of commerce is already established in the Asiatic seas. The first attempt of an unexperienced nation will not be sufficient to turn it aside ; this can be effected only by time and perseverance. But will the subscribers, disgusted with the ill success of their first attempts, be inclined to repeat them ? If Spaniards only are to be concerned in this undertaking, as government, by excluding foreigners, has declared, they will be desirous to enjoy, and inclined to mistrust. Once or twice deceived in their speculations, they will abandon them. The property, of which
they

they are the holders, injured by discouragement, will soon be reduced to little value; the company will decline, and where will it find the means of re-imbursing the subscribers, whose capitals will in a great measure be sunk in vast and expensive establishments? In vain will it open the port of Manilla to all the nations of India: if they go there they will carry with them, like the Moors and Americans, nothing but the refuse of merchandize destined for the people of Europe. But will traders come from Bengal and Coromandel to offer to a nation, yet unknown to them, their productions; which already find a certain market, established by length of time, with the English, Dutch, French and Portuguese? Besides, would the English, who reign despotically over the manufactures and cultivation of India, suffer this diversion, which would create them a dangerous competition in the markets of Europe?

I therefore see no place but China to which the new company can carry on a
direct

direct commerce by means of the vicinity of the Philippines, which are but two hundred leagues distant from it. But besides that jealousy would there occasion the same obstacles; what commodities could it take from that empire? Silks, it will be answered, tea and china-ware.

Silks? where will the company sell them again? In the mother country? A taste for this kind of luxury has not yet been introduced there, nor can it ever be except at the expence of the manufactures of Valencia, Talavera, Granada, Cordova, &c. which Spain esteems it of such consequence to encourage. Will they be disposed of in France, England, Holland, or in the North? These countries receive them immediately from Asia, and measures will certainly be taken to keep out those which shall be brought by the Spaniards. Will they send them to Italy? All the powers of this part of Europe have either silk manufactories or sumptuary laws. Spanish America therefore only remains to receive these silks; and, will

will that be sufficient to produce to the subscribers the great profits they expect? Of this I cannot but doubt when I consider the immense circuit the merchandize must make before it arrives there. Charged with the expences of the voyage from Manilla to Cadiz, with those of that from Cadiz to Spanish America, to which must be added the damage inevitable in so long a voyage, will they not have lost most of the advantage of their primitive cheapness? And what will the mother country gain by furnishing the colonies in this manner? She will become tributary to Asia instead of Europe, and open a new channel by which her coin will be drawn off, whilst on the other hand, all her efforts tend to render the balance of her commerce less disadvantageous.

With respect to tea, the use of it is almost unknown in Spain, and the nations which consume that article will certainly double their vigilance to prevent the tea of the Spanish Philippine company

company from being introduced among them.

China-ware can never become an important article of commerce ; it is a bulky and brittle merchandize, which luxury only can desire, is of little esteem in Spain, and would find no market in any other country.

Lastly, though we should suppose in the management of the new company, that ability which can be the result of experience only, and that probity by which the Spaniards are characterized in Europe, and which the strong temptation of the hope of impunity renders so rare in their colonies ; in a word, though we suppose all possible success, it may always be objected that the company cannot prosper, except at the expence of the silk and cotton manufactures of the mother country. To feel the force of this objection, it is only necessary to be informed, that this feeble commerce, established between Manilla and Acapulco, has al-

ready been the object of frequent remonstrances from the Spanish manufacturers, who have remarked that the arrival of the silks and cottons of Asia at Mexico, was very prejudicial to the sale of those articles produced in Spain, and brought by the periodical fleets; on which account, as soon as the patent for the establishment of the new Philippine company was published, the manufacturers of Catalonia addressed the strongest remonstrances to government against its institution.

These arguments of the merchant with whom I conversed, appeared to me so forcible, that I was at a loss to reply; but I attributed this to my ignorance, and not to the weakness of the cause I wished to support. I asked him what, in his opinion, Spain ought to do with the Philippines? whether they ought always to be left to languish in indolence, without advantage to themselves or the mother country; and if it were not time for Spain to vindicate herself from the reproaches

reproaches of ignorance and indolence to which she had so long been exposed?

Even that would be better, replied the merchant, than to risk, by endeavouring to derive new and romantic advantages from the islands, exciting the jealousy of those powers which forbear to disturb them at present on account of their inutility, and who would not have suffered them to remain so long in the possession of a more active nation. It would also be more advantageous than to increase and extend their commerce at the expence of the manufactures of Spain, and at the risk of disturbing the tranquility of Europe. But my assertions are not so opposite to reason and policy as you seem to imagine.

I do not mean that Spain should continue to abandon the Philippines entirely to themselves. Let those kinds of agriculture and industry, to which the soil and character of the inhabitants render them proper, be encouraged, but

let these be entirely directed to the advantage of the people of the island. You say, their port is inaccessible in time of war. In that case, the chief task of the mother country is performed. It would be sufficient that now, in time of peace, that port should be opened to all the Eastern nations, and that the inhabitants should be permitted to make voyages from one part of India to another. This would suffice for their prosperity without endangering their safety. By this means the reproaches you would wish Spain to free herself from will be without foundation, and the mother country will signalize that virtue so worthy of a great power, the generosity of rendering her subjects happy, without expecting any other return than that resulting from a voluntary benefaction.

In fact, what reason can a government which is so successfully employed in making roads and canals to facilitate communication through every part of the country ; which incessantly labours to encourage

rage agriculture and manufactures, to increase population, to emancipate the inhabitants from their ancient prejudices, to render the navy respectable, and to extend commerce to so many other colonies which without the Philippines would sufficiently contribute to the riches and splendor of Spain, be reproached with indolence and ignorance? a government which, not satisfied with the establishment of a free trade with Spanish America in general, has had the wisdom and courage to take particular measures in favour of those parts of that America which, as Trinidad and Louisiana, had a more immediate claim to its attention? Who that has a respect for truth will henceforth dare to give so odious and unjust a description of this nation? The only answer I can return to such declamations is, either the character of the Spaniards has been improperly estimated, or it is greatly changed. *

* The gloomy predictions of the Spanish merchant have been contradicted in part by experience. Of three vessels sent out by the new company, one indeed

This led me to a discussion of the manners and character of the modern Spaniards, in which we agreed much better than on the subject of the Philippine company. It confirmed me in the ideas I had conceived of them after a residence of several years in the country.

suffered, from a want of skill in those who had the care of it, considerable damages, which were repaired at the isle of France ; but the two others arrived safe at Cadiz towards the end of 1787. Their cargoes were received with the greatest eagerness : their sales exceeded the price at which they were estimated on their arrival from fifteen to fifty per Cent. It is however feared, that this splendid beginning cannot be supported. The high price was attributed to novelty, and the scarcity of the commodities brought by the vessels. It is presumed, that if a taste for them were established, smuggling would furnish them at a cheaper rate ; for the company, for want of having placed experienced *supra* cargoes in the vessels, made in this first expedition very dear purchases, and of a middling quality ; it is even thought, that in future, the company must renounce the article of tea, which among the Spaniards has a rival difficult to supplant. Besides, the consumption of chocolate cannot be diminished but to the detriment of several colonies, the property of which is still more interesting to Spain than that of the new company.

The

The recapitulation I am about to offer to my readers, will inform them what is my own opinion.

I shall begin by a few words concerning such estimates of national character. They are portraits, which under a brilliant and ingenious pencil, have every merit except that of resemblance. It is not according to them that an idea can be formed of any modern people. For individuals to resemble each other, they must be under the influence of the same climate, have the same occupations, and profess the same religion. They must also live under a well-established form of government, and most of them give to their ideas, sentiments and exterior habitude of body, a constant and uniform turn. It is the concurrence only of all these particulars which can authorize us to apply to all the portrait of an individual. A difference among them, in any one of these respects, is sufficient to give infinite variety to their moral and physical features. For this

reason it would be easy to describe the ancient Scythians, or other pastoral nations, the savages of Canada and barbarians in general, who have but one simple and uniform mode of worship, few laws, and little communication with other nations. The Greeks and Romans also in the happiest times of their republics, almost entirely devoted to the love of their country, liberty and fame, inhabiting a confined space, where the influence of climate was in every place nearly similar, and all taking a part more or less active in government, might be generally described by the same lineaments. For which reason, among modern nations, the English and Dutch would be found nearer this uniformity, the first from that universal inquietude which fixes their attention upon government, whose operations are submitted to their inspection, and from that national pride which keeps their minds in continual activity, and which is not, as in other countries, confined to certain classes of society; and the latter because, notwithstanding

standing the various constitutions of their seven provinces, they have all a point of union which attaches them to their country and liberty, by their portion of an authority infinitely subdivided; and, because the nature of their soil, and their situation with respect to other countries, *

* I find in the republick of Holland, a confirmation of this observation. Six of the provinces resemble each other in the nature of the soil, which obliges them to commerce, and reduces them to almost a single kind of cultivation, and in their constitution, which is differently composed of aristocracy and democracy; while the province of Guelderland which has not one considerable harbour, is almost without canals, of which the soil is more unequal and less fertile than that of the rest of the republick, and which has been long since fashioned to the yoke of a master, contains inhabitants which sensibly differ from the subjects of the other united provinces. It is therefore upon Guelderland that the Despot, who has just reduced them to subjection, has made the first essay of his power; and, whilst the other provinces glowed with the noble enthusiasm of liberty, its states, chiefly composed of gentlemen devoted by interest to tyranny, fought for his success. They were the first to offer him assistance, and gave the warmest reception to those who came to assure them of his triumph. After this, let the portrait of a real Dutchman be applied to an inhabitant of Guelderland!

prescribe

prescribes them all nearly the same taste and employments. But who can flatter himself with the idea of giving a good portrait of the German, Italian, and French nations? What a difference between the climates, productions, employments, laws and language of one province and those of another! Who would apply to an inhabitant of Westphalia the description of a Saxon or an Austrian; that of a Neapolitan to a Venetian; or that of a Fleming to an inhabitant of Languedoc?

The Spaniards are in the same situation as these three nations. There are in the inhabitants of their chief provinces such striking differences of climate, manners, language, habits, character, and even exterior form, that the portrait of a Galician would more resemble a native of Auvergne than a Catalanian, and that of an Andalusian a Gascon more than a Castilian. If the Spaniards have ever had characteristic marks, applicable to all the inhabitants
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of their Peninsula, it was when the Arabians, by establishing themselves in the nation, had stamped it with a particular impression, and notwithstanding the different causes which separated them from it, had communicated to it a part of their manners, ideas, taste for the arts and sciences, and of every thing of which the traces are still found in the provinces where they mostly resided; it was when the high idea they had of their nation, and which was justified by circumstances, appeared in their persons, and gave them all a resemblance to the description ill given of them; by representing them all grave, austere,, generous, and breathing nothing but war and adventures. It was, in fine, when in their general assemblies, which they called *Cortes*, all took a part, more or less active, in government, directing or watching its operations, and when they felt more strongly than at present, that patriotism which acts so powerfully upon the opinions, affections and manners of those
whom

whom it animates. But these three causes of uniformity in national character have almost entirely disappeared, and left the Spaniards more immediately to the influence of the climate, and the laws and productions of their different provinces; so that to describe them in their present state, they must be divided into Castilians, Catalonians, Arragonians, Navarrians, Andalusians, and Asturians, and to each of these people must be assigned a particular portrait; a difficult and disagreeable task, which could never be compleated without almost continually placing the exception by the side of the rule; in which it would be scarcely possible to be exact without descending to minuteness, to be just without being severe, or a eulogist without appearing to flatter.

However, this revolution has not been so compleat as not to leave many features, by which the whole Spanish nation may still be known. A part of its manners have survived the event by which

which they were changed. The influence of the climate has been modified, but not destroyed ; in many respects the provinces have the same form of government. The court of a monarch almost absolute, is still the center of all views and affections. All the modern Spaniards profess the same religion. In literature they have still the same taste, and copy the same models. In many respects they have preserved some resemblance to their ancestors, and this is what I shall endeavour to point out.

When Spain discovered and conquered the New World, not contented to reign over a great part of Europe, she agitated and convulsed the other either by intrigue or military enterprizes. At this period the Spaniards were intoxicated with that national pride which appeared in the exterior of their persons, in their gestures, language and writings. As there was then some reason for this, it gave them an air of grandeur which was at least pardoned
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by those whom it inspired not with respect. But by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances this splendour has been eclipsed, and the assuming manners it excused have survived it.

The Spaniard of the sixteenth century has disappeared, but his mask remains. Hence that exterior fierceness and gravity by which he is at present distinguished, and which have frequently recalled to my recollection two lines of one of our poets on the subject of original sin, notwithstanding the consequences of which the sublime station man was intended to fill is still easy to be known.

*C'est du haut de son trône un roi précipité,
Qui garde sur son front un trait de majesté*.*

The modern Spaniard still preserves in his air and gesture the marks of his ancient greatness. Whether he speaks

* He is a king precipitated from his throne, who still preserves in his air some traces of majesty.

or writes, his expressions have an exaggerated turn which approaches bombast. The Spaniards will pardon me for treating them in this point with a little severity. To enable them to support it, let them recollect that each nation has its defects as well as good qualities; and that these are so joined, that defects are sometimes the consequence or excess of good qualities, in the same manner as good qualities are an excuse for, and frequently the consequences of defects.

I therefore shall not scruple to repeat that the Spaniard has an exalted idea of his nation and of himself, and expresses it without the least disguise of art. His vanity is not nourished by those pleasant exaggerations which provoke laughter rather than anger, and which characterise the inhabitants of one of the provinces of France. When he boasts it is gravely, with all the pomp of his language. In a word, the Spaniard, as a man of wit once said to me, *is a Gascon who has put on the buskin.*

I am

I am nevertheless much disposed to believe that the genius of the language may also be one reason for this pompous style. The Spaniards have not only adopted many words and expressions from the Arabic, but their language is impregnated, as it were, with the oriental spirit which the Arabians naturalized in Spain. This is found in all the productions of Spanish imagination, in works of piety, in comedies and novels. It is, perhaps, one of the causes of the slow progress of sound philosophy, because carrying every thing beyond the truth, accumulating images round the most simple ideas, and favouring whatever borders upon the wonderful, the sanctuary of truth is surrounded with illusion and rendered inaccessible. The Spaniard is so prolific, so disordered in his conceptions, that to say a man conceives brilliant chimeras, or that he receives them as realities, custom has introduced the proverb, *Il fait des châteaux en Espagne*, he builds castles in Spain, an expression, for the etymology of

of which, I think, it would be superfluous to seek elsewhere.

But the haughtiness of the Spaniard, which would be noble were it more moderated, and his gravity which always awes, and sometimes repels, are compensated by very estimable qualities, or are rather the source of those qualities. Individual pride, like that of a nation, elevates the mind and guards it against meanness; and such is the effect of Spanish haughtiness. In Spain there are vices and crimes as in other countries; but in general they bear this national characteristic. It is observable in the most obscure classes, in dungeons, and even under rags and misery. It compensates, to a certain degree, the genius of a language naturally diffuse, in which the ear seems to be gratified by an accumulation of sonorous words, and wherein multiplied expressions are frequently mistaken for an abundance of ideas. Haughtiness is commonly precise; it disdains detail and loves enig-

matical expressions because they are concise, and leave room to think, and sometimes to conjecture. Hence is it that the same Spaniards who, when their imagination is in the least warmed, display all the luxury of their language, are laconic when their mind is calm. Of this I might give a hundred examples, but I shall mention one only. I had occasion to speak to a Spaniard of the lowest class, and found him gravely caressing a little child. I asked him if he were the father? A Frenchman of the same rank would have modestly answered, Yes, Sir; or, at least, I believe so; and would have said much more on the subject than I should have wished to hear. The Castilian, without disturbing himself, or even receiving my question with a smile, answered me coldly: "he was born in my house," after which he immediately turned the discourse to some other subject.

This gravity, almost become proverbial, is however far from what it is
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generally supposed to be ; in fact it excludes in the Spaniards what we call affability. They do not anticipate, but wait for you. But this austere covering frequently conceals a good and benevolent mind, which will become manifest on the least examination. Strangers to the vain hypocrisy of French politeness, the Spaniards are sparing in professions. Their smile of benevolence is not the mark of duplicity, and their heart commonly opens with their features. How often have I been repulsed by the exterior of a Spaniard, and remained a long time without being able to approach him, or to conquer my repugnance, which was all that was necessary, to find in him a complaisance not affected but real ; an obliging manner, not that which promises but that which grants ! The Spaniards are, perhaps, in want of that urbanity which is bestowed by what we call a refined education, but which too frequently serves as a covering to falsehood and contempt. They supply this by that unaffected frankness and good-

nature, which announces and inspires confidence.

The great among them have no dignity, if we mean that which is circumspect in its affability, for fear of provoking familiarity, and which cares but little whether or not it be loved, provided it be but respected. Without forgetting who they are, they mark not in a mortifying manner the distinction of classes, and do not disdain to form connections among those beneath their own. They have no longer among them a Duke of Alba, a Don Louis de Haro, and a Penaranda, whose characters displayed in the face of Europe, have undoubtedly contributed to propagate the idea still entertained of the imperious haughtiness of the Spanish nobility of the first rank. If some have still preserved the traces of it, in them it is coolness, timidity, and embarrassment; or at least, if I may use the expression, their point of contact with the rest of the nation.

We

We must not forget likewise, that this exterior gravity conceals in persons of every class a cheerfulness, which to discover itself only needs to be excited. To prove this, I shall not have recourse to the Spanish theatres, where buffooneries are so well received; this would rather be an argument against my assertion, because it has been remarked, that the theatres of gay nations are more serious than those of grave ones, as if the mind were principally delighted with those emotions which are most opposite to its habitual state.

But to enable the reader to judge whether or not the Spaniards have the vivacity I have attributed to them, I will conduct him to circles where they are at their ease; to their repasts, even before the vapours of the food and wine have fermented in their brain; I will introduce him to their conversations which abound in sprightliness, pleasantries and equivoques, all the legitimate or illegitimate offspring of vivacity;

city; and will there ask him, if this be not more open and better supported than in French societies, circles or *petit-soupers*. Undoubtedly he will say, that this vivacity is too noisy, that it is vulgar. But contemptible is that delicacy which condemns men to tiresome insipidity. Let this cheerfulness however, be condemned or not, by the caprice of fashion, it does not the less exist because our prejudices have taken a contrary turn.

Similar observations may be made on other defects with which the Spaniards are continually reproached. If I have not quite absolved them from their idleness, I have taken the liberty to assert, that it was the consequence of transient circumstances, and will disappear with them. In fact, when we witness the activity which appears upon the coast of Catalonia, throughout the whole kingdom of Valencia, in the mountains of Biscay, and in all places where industry is encouraged, and commodities have an easy and certain sale; when on the other
hand

hand, we observe the laborious life of the muletiers and caleffieros, who courageously conduct their mules and carriages throughout the whole country by the most dangerous roads; the husbandmen who, in the plains of La Mancha and Andalusia, harden themselves to the labours of the fields, which the nature of the soil, the distance of their habitations, and the heat of the most burning climate in Europe, render more painful than in other countries; when we consider the number of Galicians and Asturians who, like our Auvergnians and Limousins, seek at a distance the slow and painful means of subsistence; when we perceive that the idleness with which the Spaniards are so much reproached, is circumscribed within the boundaries of the two Castiles, that is, the part of Spain the most unprovided with roads, canals, and navigable rivers; it is but just, to conclude that this vice is not an indelible stain in the character of the Spanish nation; that it is only the result of the transient nature of things;

and that a government active and enlightened like the present, will find means intirely to eradicate it.

There is another defect which has much affinity to idleness, at least it manifests itself by much the same symptoms; which is slowness; and from this it would be more difficult to exculpate the Spaniards. It must be allowed, that knowledge penetrates but slowly into Spain. In political measures, war, and all the operations of government; nay, even in the common occurrences of life, when other nations act, they still deliberate. Mistrustful and circumspect, they fail in as many affairs by slowness, as others by precipitation. This is the more extraordinary, as their lively imagination should seem of a nature to be irritated by delay. But in nations, as in individuals, there is not a single quality which is not frequently modified by a contrary one, and in the struggle, the triumph is always on the side to which the mind is most forcibly disposed by the circumstance of the moment.

ment. The Spaniard, naturally cold and deliberate when nothing extraordinary moves him, is inflamed to enthusiasm, when his haughtiness, resentment, or any of the passions which compose his character, are awakened either by insult or opposition. Hence it is, that the Spanish nation, apparently the most grave, cold, and slow in Europe, sometimes becomes one of the most violent when circumstances deprive it of its habitual calm and deliver it up to the empire of the imagination. The most dangerous animals are not those which are in the most continued agitation. The aspect of the lion is grave as his pace; his motions are not without an object; his roarings not in vain. As long as his inaction is undisturbed, he loves peace and silence, but if he be provoked, he shakes his mane; fire sparkles in his eyes; he roars tremendously, and the king of animals appears.

It is this combination of slowness and violence which perhaps constitutes the most formidable

formidable courage; and such seems to me to be that of the Spaniards. The causes which retained them in continual inactivity have disappeared. The vicinity of the Moors, which was not the least of them, has long lost its effect; as well as the united motives of hatred, jealousy and fanaticism which increased its intensity. The wars of the last century, and that of the Spanish succession, were not sufficient to keep it up to the height at which it then was. Spanish courage therefore, may seem abated; but it is capable of being roused, and is easily excited upon the least signal. The revolution in this respect is not sensible, except in circumstances in which courage is useless, or sometimes prejudicial, and rather the vice of a ferocious people, than the virtue of a polished nation. The name alone of infidels excited fury, but the age of the Pizarros and Almagros is forgotten, happily for Spain and humanity. The colonists of Spanish America, and the natives she has still preserved,

no longer tremble under the yoke of the mother country.

If religious intolerance exists in Spain, it is only in declamation, and the zeal of persecution is considerably abated. The Spaniards begin to think that religion may permit policy to treat as useful neighbours, those whom they had only viewed as irreconcilable enemies. In Spain, as well as in other nations, the progress of knowledge and philosophy, though it may have been slow, has sensibly softened the manners. The traces of ancient barbarity successively disappear. Assassinations were formerly common in Spain. Every man of respectability, and every one who held a public employment had his assassins at command; which were hired in the kingdom of Valencia, as it is pretended witnesses are in some of the French provinces. This dreadful custom was in some measure the consequence of the weapons then in use. One of these was a species of triangular poniard which, concealed under

der the cloak, was drawn forth to take vengeance in the first moment of resentment. A stroke from it was much more dangerous than one from a sword, the use of which cannot be secret, and requires some dexterity; and it was more to be feared than the common poniard known by the name of *rejon*. The use of these perfidious weapons is not yet entirely abolished, and furnishes a ground for the accusations with which foreigners continue to vilify the Spaniards. It is seldom that the manners of a people are corrected by violent and precipitate means. A minister of the present reign has made the sad experiment. The long cloaks and round hats pulled over the face favoured disorders, and particularly those which endangered the safety of the citizens. He wished to use coercive means, and even open force, to prevent their being worn for the future in the capital. The people mutinied, and the minister was sacrificed; the manner of dress so suddenly attacked, was in part continued after his disgrace; but milder and more
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flow measures, the example of the court, and those about it, added to the activity of a vigilant police, have considerably contributed to correct the evil. The species of mask, under the name of a hat, which encouraged insolence by insuring impunity, is totally laid aside; and the cloak, very convenient for those who know how to wear it, now favours nothing but idleness.

The use of the fatal poniard still exists in some parts of Spain, especially in the southern provinces, but it is wholly confined to the lowest rank. Some bravoes make it a bug-bear to the weak, and with the violent and passionate it is the instrument of immediate vengeance. The ecclesiastics have made it a part of their mission of peace and charity to disarm their parishioners. The archbishop of Granada, in particular, has with this view successfully employed his arguments from the pulpit. Poniards and assassinations are, however, still common in Andalusia; where the
power.

powerful influence of climate yet is manifest, when not counter-balanced by moral agency. During the summer, a certain easterly wind causes in that province a kind of phrenzy, which renders these excesses more common than at any other season of the year.

But let the natural face of Spain be renewed; let roads and canals cross the districts hitherto almost inaccessible; let a more easy communication render the vigilance of the agents of government more active and certain; let an increasing population expose to the public eye, and to public punishment, the villains who reign but in solitude, like wild beasts in a desert; let the progress of agriculture, industry, and commerce give employment to mischievous idleness; in a word, let the present plan of government be executed, and it will soon appear, in this respect as in others, that the influence of climate will yield to such powerful causes. The revolution in manners, within the last half century,

tury, evinces the truth of this prediction. It was not until the present century that two barbarous customs were by degrees abolished, which ought long before to have been proscribed by reason and humanity. I mean the *Rondalla* and the *Pedreades*. The former of these is a kind of defiance which two bands of musicians give to each other. Without any other motive than that of giving a proof of bravery, they meet with swords and fire-arms, fire at each other, and then close with swords. Will it be believed that this custom still exists in Navarre and Arragon? That of the *Pedreades* has but lately been disused. This was also a kind of combat between two companies, armed with slings, who attacked each other with stones.

Such manners are equally shameful to those who retain them and the government by which they are tolerated. However, as there is scarcely any vicious custom which has not its reasons as well as apparent advantages, there are certain per-

persons who are displeased these institutions should be abolished, alledging that though they cannot be denied to be proofs of ferocity, they are equally so of courage, which they contribute to maintain among the people. Nothing but pity remains for those who shew by such arguments that reason, in their opinion, is incompatible with true courage, the only one which the glory and safety of nations require; as if in any war the arms of barbarians had ever been known to combat with advantage against disciplined troops; or the ferocity of wild disorder to insure success in military operations. The abettors of such paradoxes undoubtedly regret the revolution, which it is said the work of Cervantes has operated in the manners of Spain, by throwing an indelible ridicule on those adventurers who, neglecting the duties of their station, and the care of their families create themselves dangers to enjoy the vain glory of braving them; who offer the aid of their restless valour to those
who

who ask it not, and whose importunate services are at least useless in countries where charity watches to assist the wretched, and where the weak are protected by a well regulated police.

The bull-fights are what principally seem to be some remains of barbarism in the manners of the Spaniards, but at the same time they are more susceptible of apology. These combats, to which the Spanish nation has the strongest attachment, though highly repugnant to the delicacy of the rest of Europe, are considered by many Spaniards as one means of preserving, in their nation, the energy by which it is characterised; from the habit of exciting violent emotions, which are disagreeable to none but weak minds. For my part, though I wish to respect a taste which I confess is by no means in unison with my own, I have never been able to comprehend what relation there is to strength and courage, in a spectacle where those present

are exposed to no danger, in which the actors prove by the rarity of accidents*, that the hazard they run is not of a nature to excite much concern, and in which the wretched victims that are sacrificed have nothing to expect but a certain and painful death, as a reward for their courage and vigour. Another proof that this spectacle has no influence upon the mind is, that I have seen among the spectators, children, young women, the aged of both sexes, men of every age, class, and character, in whom the habit of frequenting these bloody entertainments corrected not their weakness or timidity, or changed the softness of

* Whatever may be said to the contrary, they are very rare. The cavaliers who are thrown sometimes receive contusions, but during almost four years that I was present at bull-fights, I knew but one *Torreador* who died of his wounds. A priest, however, provided with the viaticum and holy oils, is constantly present in a kind of latticed box, where he is not seen by the spectators; a precaution which, notwithstanding its inutility, has been preserved, like many other human institutions, merely by the force of custom.

their

their manners. These diversions are very expensive, but very profitable to the undertakers. The price of the lowest places is two, or four reals, according as they are exposed to the sun or in the shade. The highest price is a great *piastre*. After the value of the horses and bulls, and the salary of the *Torreadores* have been deducted from the money received, the remainder is commonly dedicated to pious uses: at Madrid it forms the principal funds for the support of the hospital.

Bull-fights are mostly given in summer, because in this season spectators may remain in the open air, and the animals are more vigorous. Privileged breeds are condemned to this species of sacrifice. As soon as the bull appears in the circle, all the connoisseurs name the breed he is of. There are twenty benches round the circle, and that only which is most elevated is covered. The boxes are in the upper part of the edifice. In some cities, as in Valladolid,

where there is no particular place set apart for the combat, the principal square is converted into a theatre for the purpose. The balconies of the different stories are continued across the ends of the streets which there terminate: the sight of the people of every class assembled round the square, expecting the signal for battle, and exhibiting in their countenances every sign of joy and impatience, has in it something interesting if not pleasing.

The exhibition begins by a kind of procession round the square, in which the champions, as well on foot as on horseback, who are to attack the fierce animal, make their appearance; after these come two alguazils on horseback, gravely advancing, in wigs and black robes, who go to the president of the combat (the governor or the corregidor) for an order to begin. The signal is immediately given. The animal, until then shut up in a kind of cabin, the door of which opens into the circle, makes his ap-

appearance. The agents of Themis, who have no quarrel with him, prudently hasten their retreat, and their fear, but ill seconded by their horses, is the prelude to the cruel pleasure which the spectators are about to enjoy.

The bull is received and stunned with their cries and noisy expressions of joy. He has first to combat with the horsemen (*Picadores*) who, cloathed after the ancient manner of the Spaniards, and as it were fastened down upon their saddles, wait for him armed with long lances. This exercise, which requires address, strength and courage, has nothing in it degrading. Formerly the greatest among the nobility disdained not to take a part in it; at present, even some hidalgos solicit the honor of combating on horseback, and upon occasion are previously presented to the people under the auspices of a patron, who is commonly one of the principal persons of the court.

The Picadores, whoever they may be, open the scene. The bull, without being provoked, frequently attacks them, from which circumstance, when it happens, all the spectators conceive a great opinion of his courage. If, notwithstanding the pointed steel which repels his attack, he again returns to the charge, the cries are redoubled, pleasure then becomes enthusiasm: but if the animal be pacific, disconcerted, and cowardly runs round the circle, avoiding his persecutors, murmurs and hissings resound throughout the theatre. All those within whose reach he passes, load him with blows and execrations. It seems as if he were a common enemy who has a great crime to expiate, or a victim whose sacrifice is of consequence to all the people. If nothing can rouse his courage, he is judged unworthy of being tormented by men, and the repeated cries of *perros, perros*, bring on him new enemies.

Great dogs are then let loose upon him, who seize him by the neck and ears,

ears. The animal now finds the use of his natural weapons. The dogs thrown into the air, fall stunned, and sometimes lacerated, upon the ground; they rise again, renew the combat, and commonly end by overthrowing their adversary, who then perishes ignobly. On the contrary, if he has presented himself with a good grace, his career is more glorious, but longer and more painful. The first act of the tragedy belongs to the combatants on horseback; this is the most animated but the most bloody and disgusting part of the whole. The irritated animal braves the steel which makes deep wounds in his neck, falls furiously upon the innocent horse who carries his enemy, gores his sides and overturns him with his rider.

In this case, the latter upon the ground and disarmed, is in imminent danger, until the combatants on foot, called *Chulos*, come to his assistance, and provoke the animal by shaking before him stuffs of different colours.

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But it is not without danger to themselves that they save the dismounted horseman. The bull sometimes pursues them, and they then have need of their utmost agility. They frequently escape him by letting fall the stuff which is their only weapon, and upon which the fury of the deceived animal is exhausted. But it sometimes happens that he is not thus to be imposed upon, and the champion has no other resource than leaping over the barrier six feet high, which forms the interior of the circle. In some places there are two barriers, and the intermediate space forms a kind of circular gallery, behind which the pursued torreador is in safety. But when the barrier is single, the bull makes efforts to leap it, which he sometimes accomplishes. The alarm of the nearest spectators may easily be imagined; their precipitation in retiring, and crowding upon the upper benches, becomes more fatal to them than the fury of the animal, which stumbling at each step upon the narrow and uneven space, rather thinks of saving

ving himself than satisfying his vengeance; and besides, soon falls under the blows that are hastily and repeatedly given him.

Except in these cases, which are rare, he returns to the charge. His dismounted adversary having had time to recover himself, immediately mounts his horse again, provided the latter be not too much wounded, and the attack is renewed; but the cavalier is frequently obliged to change his horse. I have seen seven and eight horses gored, or their bowels torn out, by the same bull, fall dead upon the field of battle. No words can then sufficiently celebrate these acts of prowess, which for several days become the favourite subjects of conversation. The horses, astonishing examples of patience, courage and docility, present, before they die, a sight at which I shall willingly permit my gay countrymen to shudder. They tread under their feet their bloody entrails which fall from their lacerated sides, and for sometime
obey

obey the hand which leads them on to new torments. Disgust then seizes such of the spectators as possess any sensibility and embitters their pleasure.

But a new act soon reconciles them to the diversion. When it is judged that the bull has been sufficiently tormented by the combatants on horseback, these withdraw, and leave him to the champions on foot, called *banderilleros*; who meet the animal, and the moment he attacks them, stick into his neck, two by two, a kind of arrow, called a *banderilla*, terminated like a fish-hook, and ornamented with little streamers of stained paper. The fury of the bull is redoubled; he roars, and his vain efforts render more acute the dart which has been lodged in him. This last torment gives a fine opportunity for a display of the agility of his new adversaries. The spectators at first tremble for their safety when they see them brave the terrible horns of the animal; but their skilful hands give the blow so surely, and they escape

escape so nimbly from the danger, that after a few times they are neither pitied nor admired; and their address appears nothing more than a trifling episode in the tragedy of which the catastrophe is as follows.

When the vigour of the bull appears almost exhausted, and his blood, flowing from twenty wounds, and pouring from his neck, moistens his robust sides, the fury of the people, thus satiated upon him, calls for another victim; the president then gives the signal for his death, which is announced by the sound of drums and trumpets. The *Matador* advances and is seen alone in the circle; in one hand he holds a long knife, in the other a kind of flag which he waves before his adversary. Thus together they stop and observe each other. The impetuosity of the bull is several times avoided by the agility of the *Matador*, and the pleasure of the spectators is rendered more lively by their suspense. Sometimes the animal remains immoveable; he scrapes the
ground

ground with his feet and seems to meditate vengeance. Those who are familiar with the beauties of Racine, may then perhaps recollect the two following lines of that admirable author.

*Il le voit, il l'attend et son ame irritée,
Pour quelque grand dessein semble s'être arrêtée.**

The bull in this situation, and the Matador who discovers his intention and carefully observes his slightest motion, form a picture which an able pencil might not disdain to delineate. The silence of the assembly respects this dumb scene. At length the Matador gives the fatal blow; and if the animal immediately falls, the triumph of the conqueror is celebrated by a thousand exclamations; but if the blow be not decisive, if the bull survives and again strives to brave the fatal knife, the murmurs are not less numerous. The Matador, whose address was about to be extolled to the skies, is

* He sees and waits for him, and his irritated mind seems to be fixed on some great design.

considered

considered only as a clumsy butcher. He instantly endeavours to recover from his disgrace, and disarm the severity of his judges. His zeal sometimes becomes a blind fury, and his partisans tremble for the consequences of his imprudence. At last he gives a better directed blow. The animal vomits streams of blood, and struggling with death, staggers and falls, while his conqueror becomes intoxicated with the applauses of the people. The bull is then tied by the horns which have betrayed his valour; and, although so lately furious and haughty, is ignominiously dragged from the circle he has just honoured, leaving nothing behind but the traces of his blood, and the remembrance of his exploits, which is soon effaced by the appearance of his successor. On each of the days dedicated to these feasts are sacrificed (at least at Madrid) six bulls in the morning and twelve in the afternoon. The names of the combatants of each are previously announced in the public prints. The three last of the animals are exclusively left to the
Matador,

Matador, who, without the assistance of the Picadores, employs all his dexterity to vary the pleasures of the spectators. He sometimes suffers an intrepid stranger, mounted upon another bull, to combat them; at others he turns a bear against them. The last bull is particularly devoted to the entertainment of the populace. The points of his horns are covered with a round case, which diminishes the effect of their strokes.

In this state the bull, which is then called *Embolado*, loses the power of piercing and lacerating his adversary. The spectators descend in crowds to torment him, each according to his own manner, and often expiate their cruel pleasure by violent contusions. But the creature always falls at last under the blows of the Matador. The few spectators who partake not of the general fury, regret that these wretched animals purchase not their lives, at least, at the expence of so many tortures and efforts of courage. They would willingly aid them to escape from
their

their persecutors. In the humane few, disgust succeeds to compassion, and weariness to disgust : the uniform succession of similar scenes throws a languor upon the amusement which the spectacle promised at the beginning.

But to the connoisseurs who have studied the artifices of the bull, the resources of his address and fury, the different methods of alluring, deceiving, and tormenting him (for in some provinces this is a study from youth to manhood) no scene resembles another, and they pity frivolous observers who know not how to distinguish their variety.

In this pursuit, as in others, the spirit of party confers reputation ; and disputes or exaggerates success. When I arrived at Madrid, the connoisseurs were divided between two famous Matadores, Costillares and Romero, as people might be in other countries with respect to the merits of two celebrated actors. Each sect was as enthusiastic in its eulogiums
and

and positive in decision as the *Gluckists* and *Piccinists* perhaps were in France. It is difficult to believe that the art of killing a bull, which seems to be the exclusive privilege of a butcher, should be gravely discussed, and extolled with transport, not only by the people, but by the most sensible men, and women of the greatest sensibility.

We can scarcely conceive how the chariot races in the olympic games could furnish Pindar with a subject for his sublime odes, which charmed all Greece, and conferred immortality on the conquerors. The bull-fights seem to be a subject still more sterile, and yet inspire enthusiasm. Every thing which pleases us in childhood, or that awakens in our minds violent emotions which are not abated by habit, may excite and excuse that exalted sentiment. Nothing ought to be inferred against the morals of a nation from objects, whatever they may be, by which enthusiasm is inspired. The combats of gladiators, and the horrid

rid contests of criminals with ferocious beasts excited it in the Romans. Horse races produce in the English a kind of delirium. Shall we, on this account, refuse the title of a polished people to the former, or that of a philosophical nation to the latter? In like manner the Spaniards, notwithstanding their immoderate love of bull-fights, and the barbarous pleasure they take in seeing the blood of those innocent and courageous animals shed, are not therefore less susceptible of every amiable and delicate emotion. After leaving these bloody diversions, they enjoy not less the pleasures of domestic peace, the confidence of friendship, and the delights of love; their hearts are not less susceptible of pity, nor is their courage more ferocious. I am of opinion that in the ages when single combats and assassinations were more frequent, they were not more attached than at present to their favourite diversion.

They are become much more pacific. Their manners are softened without their passion for bull-fights being diminished; it still exists in all its fervour. The day on which they are celebrated is a day of rejoicing for the whole district, as well as for the inhabitants for ten or twelve leagues round the place. The artist who can scarcely provide for his subsistence, has always a surplus to expend on this spectacle. The very chastity of the poor girl, whose poverty should exclude her from it, would be in danger: her first seducer would be the man who should pay for her admission.

The Spanish government is well aware of the moral and political inconvenience of this kind of phrenzy; it has long been convinced, that for a people, among whom it would wish to encourage industry, it is a cause of disorders and dissipation; that it is prejudicial to agriculture by sacrificing, in such numbers, the robust animals which might be employed in cultivation, by destroying the
source

source of cattle which would fertilize the country and feed the inhabitants, and by turning the pastures from their most valuable destination. But it is forced to have respect for amusements, which, perhaps, could not be openly attacked without danger; it, however, avoids encouraging them. Formerly the court counted the bull-fights in the number of entertainments it gave at certain times. The plaza-mayor, on such occasions, was the theatre of these exhibitions. The king and his family honoured the spectacle with their presence. His military household presided to keep order. His halbardiers formed the inner circle of the theatre, and their long weapons were the only barrier they opposed to the dangerous caprices of the bull. These feasts, which by distinction were called *Fiestas-reales*, are become more rare. There has been but one under the present reign. The reigning monarch, who endeavours to polish the manners of his nation and to turn its attention towards more use-

ful objects, wishes to destroy in it an inclination in which he perceives nothing but inconvenience ; but he is too wise to employ violent means.

He has, however, confined the number of bull-fights to those of which the produce serves to the support of some charitable institution, reserving to himself the power of hereafter substituting other funds. The combats, by this means rendered less frequent, will, perhaps, lose by degrees a part of their attraction, until more favourable circumstances shall permit them to be entirely abolished.

It is thus that, by successive gradations, more the effect of time than wisdom, the manners of a people are reformed and softened. Those of the Spaniards have within the last century undergone, in other respects, sensible revolutions. Formerly the point of honour, delicate to excess, occasioned among them frequent duels ; were other
proofs

proofs wanting, their comedies and novels would furnish a sufficient number. At present their courage is not so restless, yet it is still sufficient in time of war to defend the country without disturbing its repose during the mild reign of peace. On the other hand the Spaniards have preserved their ancient virtues, patience and sobriety; the former renders them constant in their enterprizes, and indefatigable in their labours; the latter preserves them from the excesses too common in the other countries of Europe. I mean not to diminish their merit; besides of what importance is the cause of virtues in men, provided they are useful in their effects. I dare therefore assert, that the so much boasted sobriety of the Spaniards is, in a great measure, the consequence of their physical constitution, and of the quality of their food. Their robust and muscular bodies, dried and hardened by the active heat of a burning climate, support better the deprivation and superabundance of

nourishment. In the first case, the abstinence to which they may be compelled does not weaken them; in the second, their strength resists the excesses of intemperance. The flesh of animals, at least in the Mediterranean provinces of Spain, contains, in a given quantity, more nutritive matter than elsewhere. Their roots, less spongy than in countries where water contributes more than the sun to their growth, are of a more nourishing substance. Strangers who remain sometime at Madrid, soon perceive this superiority, and if they yield to the appetite they may have upon their arrival, an endemial disease, called *Entripado*, a kind of cholic, which the physicians of the country only know how to treat, painfully informs them of their change of food and climate. It is so true, that the power of eating little or much is a consequence of air and soil, that in the provinces, or in the kingdom of Valencia, for instance, where aliments contain less substance, a much greater indulgence of the appetite is
neither

neither proscribed by custom nor prejudicial to health. With respect to intoxicating liquors, the sobriety of the Spaniards proceeds in a great measure from Nature, which, always employing means proportioned to her end, has bestowed on them a constitution analogous to the strength of the wines produced by their soil, whilst strangers cannot with impunity drink of them to excess. Nothing is more uncommon than to see a Spaniard inebriated with wine, although that which he drinks is more spiritous than those of France; and if a drunken soldier be seen in the streets of Madrid, it is very probable he is a foreigner.

We may remark on this occasion, that sobriety seems to be the inheritance of the inhabitants of the South, as intemperance is that of those of the North. We may also observe, that the people who commit most excesses in drinking are not those whose soil produces the liquors by which they are inebriated, as

if Nature, which has given them the means of satisfying their thirst and appetite, and adapted their organs to the use of these means, intended to punish them for seeking, at a distance, the food and liquor she has created for others. These dispositions are undoubtedly deranged by other combinations. Habit changes them in more than one climate; but it seems to me that with a little attention, it is easy to discover the traces of the primitive intentions of Nature.

However this may be, the Spaniards will pardon me for considering their sobriety as a virtue of climate; this is only resembling them to other nations, and even to all the individuals of the human species, who equally owe their qualities to their education, rank in life, habits, the examples they have before them, and a thousand other causes which depend not on themselves. It is still a great merit not to resist beneficial impulses.

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The Spaniards have, besides, that of triumphing over those influences which dispose to certain excesses, for which they might have served as an apology. I have particularly in view a depraved taste, reprobated by Nature, injurious to the fair sex, and too common among the people of the south. This is absolutely unknown in Spain.

Jealousy, another outrage on the sex, the object of our homage, seems also to depend upon the influence of climate which communicates its ardour to the senses and imagination. This odious passion, formerly so injurious in its suspicions, cruel in its precautions, and implacable and sometimes atrocious in its resentments, is much weakened among the modern Spaniards. There are no people in Europe among whom fewer jealous husbands are to be found. The women, who were formerly hidden from the public, of whom it was scarcely possible to gain a glimpse through the openings of the lattices, which undoubtedly
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owe their name to the vile sentiment which was the cause of their being invented *, now enjoy full liberty. Their rivals, the only remains of their ancient servitude, only serve at present to shelter their charms from a burning sun, and to render them more attractive. First invented by jealousy, they are now employed to very different purposes. Coquetry has converted them into one of its most seducing ornaments; and in favouring secrecy they insure impunity to the stolen pleasures of love. The lovers who, under the balconies of their invisible mistresses, sighed without hope, and had nothing but their guittar for witness and interpreter, are banished to comedies and romances. Husbands are become more docile, wives more accessible, and conquests, as it is said, less slow and difficult. In this respect it belongs not to me to pronounce the eulogium of Spanish manners. Were I to

* *Jalousie*, in the French language, signifies a lattice.

confine myself to the evidence of my own experience, there are no women in Europe more pure. Whether it was from scruple, want of address, or that I felt not in myself constancy sufficient for the assiduities to which those who render homage to the Spanish ladies must be devoted; or whether I was deterred by dangers still more to be feared, although in some respects, perhaps chimerical, to which lovers are exposed, I have no less reason to believe in their virtue, than to do justice to their charms. But not to advance any thing upon suspicious evidence, I shall speak of nothing relative to the Spanish ladies of which I have not myself a knowledge.

The women of every country have particular charms by which they are characterised. In England, by the elegance of their shape, and modesty of their carriage; in Germany by freshness of complexion, and in France by that amiable gaiety which animates all their features. The charm felt on approaching a Spanish lady,

lady has something of deception which is not easily defined. It owes but little to the aid of the toilet. The complexion of a Spanish beauty is never ornamented with borrowed brilliance: art supplies not the colouring which nature has refused by exposing her to the influence of a burning climate. But by how many beauties is she recompensed for her paleness? Where are finer shapes, greater ease in every motion, or softer delicacy of feature to be found than among the Spanish beauties? Grave, and rather melancholy, at first sight, yet, should one of these fair ones open on you her large black eyes, full of expression, should she accompany her glances with a smile, insensibility itself falls at her feet. But if the coldness of her reception discourage not her admirer from addressing her, she is as decided and mortifying in her disdain, as she is seducing in permitting him to hope.

In the last case she leaves him no room to fear a long cruelty; but perseverance,
which

which in other countries accelerates the *dénouement*, must survive it in Spain, and becomes a severe duty. The fortunate men whom she deigns to conquer, and who are called *Cortejos*, are less disinterested but not less assiduous than the cicisbei of Italy. A total sacrifice is required of them. They must give proofs of this at all hours of the day, accompany the lady to the public walk, the theatres, and even the confessional. But what is particular in this kind of intimacy, is that two persons thus united by a sentiment which seems inexhaustible, are frequently silent, melancholy, and appear not as in other places, happy in the happiness of each other's company. I know not if I injure the Spanish fair sex; but I am disposed to believe, their chains are not so easy to be borne, as difficult to avoid. The Spanish beauty is said to be very rigorous in many respects; her caprices are sometimes rather hasty, and too obedient to the impulse of an ardent imagination. But that which is not easy to conciliate with her eternally varying fancies, and concurs with

with a thousand other observations to prove the incoherency of the human heart, both in male and female, is the constancy of Spanish women in their attachments. The intoxication they cause and experience, far different from all extreme agitations or affections of the mind, which continue but a short time, is prolonged greatly beyond the common term; and I saw, during my residence in Spain, more than one such passion continue constant till the parties expired with old age. I have frequently sought for the reason of this constancy; which disconcerted all my ideas, and have imagined it to be in a religious scruple, certainly ill understood, as most such scruples are. Perhaps, said I to myself, the conscience of a Spanish lady, sufficiently complaisant to permit her one gratification which offends her duty, would be terrified at a succession of infidelities. In the first she may possibly find an excuse in human infirmity, in the irresistible wish of the heart, which inclines her
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towards one object, destined by nature to fix her affections.

It belongs to those who are acquainted with the female heart and conscience to judge of this conjecture. It is certain, that in Spain, more than in any other country, both men and women appear to conciliate the irregularity of manners with the most scrupulous observance of religious duties, and even with the mockeries of superstition. In many countries these excesses alternately succeed each other. In Spain they are simultaneous; and the women, in consequence of this strange mixture of religion and frailty, seem to aim less to prevent scandal, or conceal their conduct, than to establish a kind of equilibrium between their faults and their merits; an incoherence in which both sexes appeared to me to participate. It is the consequence of error and weakness, and the most serious reproach I have to make that nation.

How

How many men have I known, who, though they led an extreme disorderly life, frequented publick worship with an assiduity, which even true christians do not consider as an indispensable duty, carefully observed every injunction of the church relative to abstinence, and rendered to the ministers almost degrading homages? How many women abandoned to an attachment utterly inconsistent with their duty, are surrounded with relicks, cover themselves with a scapulary, oblige themselves by vows to the performance of actions indifferent in their own nature, and scrupulously fulfil them. I believe hypocrites to be very rare in Spain; but to compensate for this the ridiculous association of certain moral improprieties with superstitious practices, is more common there than elsewhere. Must this be attributed to a want of knowledge, or the criminal complaisance of the directors of conscience, who are thus prodigal of the indulgence of which they themselves stand in need? Or is it the climate which must serve as
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an excuse for some vices, as it is the cause of some virtues; does it command the gratification of certain frailties too imperiously for consciences, scrupulous in other respects, to be terrified from yielding compliance?

To endeavour to explain the dissoluteness of morals, is to acknowledge it exists, and, notwithstanding my favourable opinion of the Spaniards, I cannot but confess this charge. More faithful however, to the resolution I have formed to be impartial, I must add, that this depravity is not so general as libertines, who always exaggerate their indiscretions, are pleased to say it is; that there are even at Madrid families exemplary in their conduct, faithful husbands, and wives who in other countries would be models of modesty and propriety; that their daughters, although in general not reserved in their carriage, promise much more than they grant, and that nothing is more rare than their anticipation of the rights of matrimony; that if opportunities of purchasing pleasures equally shame-

ful and easy to obtain, are frequent for those who seek them, at least prostitution is neither so public nor impudent as in other countries; and that the police, by severely prohibiting its scandalous seminaries, obliges it to conceal itself, and sometimes pursues it to its secret retreats. I shall farther observe, that women rigorously banish from their society those familiarities* which are considered as indifferent by other nations, where the senses, not so quickly inflamed, more slowly betray their disorder; and that this distrust of themselves is at least an homage which their weakness renders to modesty. But provided they be not too nearly approached, they permit, and sometimes provoke those allurements at which decency is in other places alarmed.

They pardon equivoque, obscenity, indelicate descriptions, all witticisms and indiscreet expressions. The free manner

* A woman would not permit the most chaste kiss to be given her in publick; and those which are customary in our comedies, and of which no notice is taken, are entirely banished from the Spanish stage.
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in which they explain themselves in some instances, cannot but astonish a stranger accustomed to convey his thoughts on similar occasions under a thicker veil. The English women have an extremely delicate and pure imagination, and no person would dare to wound their ears with an expression in the least tending to indecency. It is said, they carry reserve in this respect to that degree of excess which we should call prudery. French women who do not repel the sallies of an innocent gaiety, but whose decency impresses awe upon effrontery, are, in their turn, prudes in comparison to the Spanish women. I have seen the latter hear without a blush, and even permit themselves expressions which men of but few scruples would have reserved for the orgies of debauchery. I have heard several of them sing couplets which breathed something more than voluptuousness, and left the penetration of the hearer nothing to imagine. This circumstance alone however, would not be sufficient to prove the depravity of manners in Spain.

Purity of morals is certainly not a matter of convention. In every country depravity is nearly the same, except the modifications given it by law and religion. The moral purity of language is something different; this varies according to time and place; it depends upon climate, custom, manners and genius of language. Women who permit themselves freedom of expression, and give the example of it, are certainly not on that account more seducing to persons of delicacy, but they are not more easily seduced. The woman who jests with vice is, perhaps, farther removed from it than she who carefully repels it from her imagination, from a conviction of her own weakness; besides, as it has frequently been remarked, manners are never more corrupted than when the moral purity of language is carried to the most scrupulous excess; because then every mind is filled with depraved ideas, and the greatest precaution must be taken that they may not be awakened. On the contrary, a nation not yet corrupted by excess of civilisation, may have
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in its language a kind of ingenuousness which renders expressions far from entirely chaste; and when, like our first parents, it begins to blush at its nakedness, we may be sure, that like them, it has no longer preserved its innocence.

This however, is not the case of the Spanish nation. I have only wished to prove that the liberties the Spaniards permit themselves in their language, may nevertheless be reconciled with much purer manners. I should be inclined to believe these modes of expression, shocking to the decency of other nations, would disappear by a more refined civilisation, more precautions in the education of young persons, almost exclusively abandoned to the government of servants, even in the most distinguished houses, and especially by better example, the most efficacious of all educations. But can a young lady, who from the most tender age has been familiarised to the grossest expressions which her presence commands not respect enough to repress; who in com-

panies, to which she is frequently admitted, hears applause bestowed on impudence, which disdains to throw a transparent veil even over the obscenities in which it indulges; can one, whose ears are early accustomed to the indecent expressions which are permitted on the stage, and whose eyes repeatedly behold the wanton attitudes exhibited in the favourite Spanish dance, long preserve in her imagination and language that virgin purity which is, perhaps, the greatest charm of her sex?

The dance I allude to, is the famous Fandango, at which foreigners are equally astonished and offended, but to which they soon become more than partial.

No sooner is this begun at a ball, than every countenance becomes animated, and even those who by their age and profession are most obliged to gravity, have much difficulty in preventing themselves from joining in the cadence. It is related, on this subject, that the court
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of Rome, scandalized that a country renowned for the purity of its faith, should not have long before proscribed this profane dance, resolved to pronounce its formal condemnation. A consistory assembled, the prosecution of the Fandango was begun, according to rule ; and sentence was about to be thundered against it, when one of the judges judiciously observed, that a criminal ought not to be condemned without being heard. The observation had weight with the assembly. Two Spaniards were brought before it, and to the sound of instruments displayed all the graces of the Fandango. The severity of the judges was not proof against the exhibition ; their austere countenances began to relax ; they rose from their seats, and their arms and legs soon found their former suppleness. The consistory-hall was changed into a dancing-room, and the Fandango was acquitted.

After such a triumph, it may be imagined that the remonstrances of decency

have but little affect ; its empire seems to be firmly established. It is, however, different according to the places in which it is practised. It is frequently called for at the theatre, and generally closes private dances. In these cases the intention is no more than lightly indicated ; but, on other occasions, when a few persons assembled seem wantonly to shake off all scruples, the meaning is then so marked, that voluptuousness assails the mind at every avenue ; its incitements cause the heart of the modest youth to palpitate with desire, and reanimate the deadened senses of old age. The Fandango is danced by two persons only, who never touch so much as even the hand of each other ; but when we view their reciprocal allurements, their retreats and approaches ; when we observe the female, in the moment when her languor announces an approaching defeat, suddenly acquire new courage to escape from her conqueror, who pursues her, and is pursued in his turn ; the manner in which
these

these emotions are expressed by their looks, gestures and attitudes, it is impossible not to confess with a blush, that these scenes are, to the real combats of Cytherea, what our military evolutions in peace are to the real display of the art of war. The *Seguidilla* is another dance peculiar to the Spaniards. The figure is formed by eight persons; at each corner the four couple retrace, although but momentarily the principal movements of the Fandango. A Spanish female dancing the *Seguidilla*, dressed in character, accompanying the instruments with castanets, and marking the measure with her heel with uncommon precision, is certainly one of the most seducing objects which love can employ to extend his empire.

The Spanish nation has a decided taste for dancing, and the greatest aptitude to excel in the art. Besides the dances peculiar to the nation they have adopted those of other countries without excepting the minuet; but the
noble,

noble, decent and easy graces of this dance escape them. It appears, however, to have many attractions in the eyes of the Spaniards, and makes an essential part of their education. Each ball has a president, who, under the name of *Baſtonero* is to make every body dance the minuet, and who, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to consult the inclination of every one, in forming the couples, never fails to give offence to some. In the reign of Philip V. masquerades were forbidden throughout all Spain. The count de Aranda, who while attentive to the police of the capital, did not neglect its pleasures, had revived the public balls, and proscribed masquerades under Philip; but these two amusements, which in other places are considered as innocent, survived not the retreat of the minister, and being disused when his administration ceased, added to the regret of the inhabitants of the capital.

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The Spaniards are therefore reduced, for public diversions, to bull-fights, and the national spectacles of which we shall hereafter take notice. Their private pleasures have something of the gravity which appears, at least, in the exterior of their persons. The game to which the common people seem most attached, is a feeble and spiritless image of the games which kept the strength and address of the ancients in continual activity. It is called *El juego de la barra*, and consists in throwing a bar of iron to a certain distance.

People of fashion have recreations of another kind. In general they seldom assemble to eat at each others houses; and this is undoubtedly one of the circumstances which contributes to their reputation for sobriety. They are little acquainted with the innocent and healthful pleasures of the country. But few among them are fond of the chace; of which the monarch and his family seem to possess the exclusive privilege. The
amuse-

amusements of the country appear to have no attractions for the Spaniards. Their country-houses might easily be numbered. Among the many rich individuals who inhabit the capital, there are, perhaps, not ten who have a country retreat. With respect to the castles, seats, &c. so numerous in France, England, and Italy, and which contribute to the embellishment of the environs of their capitals, there are so few in the vicinity of Madrid and the rest of the Peninsula, that many travellers are of opinion the proverbial expression, *building castles in Spain*, is thence derived.

The rich subjects of the kingdom therefore concentrate all their pleasures within the cities. Music is one of those for which the Spaniards have the greatest taste. They cultivate this art with success. Not that their national music has made any great progress. If it has a particular character, it is to be found mostly in little detached airs, called, in Spain, *Tonadillas* and *Seguidillas*; sometimes agree-

agreeable melodies, but of which the modulations are little varied, and prove that the art of composition is still in its infancy. In return for this they do the greatest justice to the grand compositions of Germany and Italy, which always form a part of their frequent concerts; but they have the most profound contempt for French music, which, in their opinion, is languid and monotonous, not excepting the Vaudeville. Their prejudice, in this respect, is carried to such a height, that an Italian air would become displeasing to them by appearing in the livery of French words; so vain are they of their sonorous and cadenced language, and so persuaded that French syllables, by turns, mute and nasal, exclude the language from the possibility of being adapted to music. They have many lovers of harmony, but few composers worthy of notice.

A young poet at Madrid produced a few years since a poem on music, wherein
• didactic

didactic dryness is compensated by several episodes, and brilliancy of imagination. Connoisseurs assure us that the character of Spanish music in particular is there given by a masterly hand; but many examples must be added to the precepts contained in the poem, before it can be relished by the rest of Europe.

Balls and concerts are not the only entertainments at which the Spaniards assemble. They have also their *Tertulias* and *Refrescos*. The *Tertulias* are assemblies very similar to those of France. Perhaps more liberty reigns in the former, but langour sometimes establishes its throne there as well as in the midst of our circles.

Women in general seek not many occasions to assemble; each aspires to be the center of a *Tertulia*; and exclusive pretensions undoubtedly contribute to banish from Spanish societies what we call *French gallantry*. Women are there
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admired, and even adored, as well as elsewhere ; but when they inspire not a lively sentiment, the men seldom pay them those attentions which our politeness prodigally and indiscriminately bestows upon every individual of the amiable sex. It is not in the reciprocal communication of tenderness that manners are softened. The language of mere politeness is too cold for love : that impetuous passion commands and exacts sacrifices, but despises simple respect. On the contrary, it is in the disinterested association of the two sexes that the necessity and mutual desire of pleasing arises, which forms the charm and cement of society. This is, perhaps, the only means wanting to the Spaniards to accomplish the polishing of their manners.

Their *Refrescos*, the invention of luxury and greediness, contribute no less than the Tertulias to facilitate the intercourse of the two sexes. In general, these are only light repasts, prepared
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for persons from whom visits are received, and are as a prelude to the Tertulias; but on great occasions, when a wedding, christening, or the birth-day of the head of a family is to be celebrated, the Refresco becomes an important and a very expensive affair. All the family acquaintance are invited; and, in proportion as they arrive, the men separate from the women. The latter take their seats in a particular chamber, and etiquette requires they should remain alone until all the company be assembled, or at least until the men stand up without approaching them. The lady of the house waits for them under a canopy, in a place set apart in the hall, which in ancient manners, not yet entirely abolished, was called the *Estrado*, over which is commonly suspended an image of the virgin. The appearance of the Refresco, at length, enlivens every countenance, and infuses joy into every heart; conversation becomes animated, and the sexes approach each other. The company are first presented

sented with great glasses of water, in which little sugar-loaves, called *Azucar esponjado*, or *rosado*, square and of a very spongy substance, are dissolved; these are succeeded by chocolate, the favourite refreshment twice a day of the Spaniards, and which is believed to be so nourishing, or at least innocent, that it is not refused to persons dangerously ill. After the chocolate come all sorts of confectionary.

Et tous ces mets sucrés en pâte ou bien liquides,
Dont estomacs dévots furent toujours avides *.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the profusion with which all these delicacies are distributed. People are not only cloyed with them in the house of festivity, but they put quantities of them into paper, and even into their hats and handkerchiefs; and the servants are speedily dispatched home with the pre-

* And all those sugared pastries and sweet cordials of which devout stomachs were ever so greedy.

cious savings, which undoubtedly serve to furnish the table of more than one miser for several days. There is something odd in this general rapaciousness; and a stranger admitted, for the first time, to these kind of festivals, in which intoxicating liquors only are spared, seeks to discover the sober nation and finds it not. It may be imagined that such entertainments must weigh heavily on the œconomy of many individuals; most people regret the custom which makes them necessary on certain occasions; but, as is the case with all abuses become sacred by length of time, nobody has sufficient courage to be the first to shake off the yoke.

A ball or card-tables commonly succeed to the Refresco; but it very seldom happens that the entertainment is concluded with a supper. This is always a very frugal repast with the Spaniards, and at which they rarely assemble.

Their

Their cookery, such as they received it from their ancestors, is of a nature to please but very few people. They are fond of high seasonings; pepper, pimenta, *tomates*, or saffron, colour or season most of their dishes. One of them only has been introduced amongst strangers, and the art of the French kitchen has not disdained to adopt it; this is what in Spain is called *Olla-podrida*, and is a sort of hotch-potch of every kind of meat cooked together. There is, however, generally a mixture in the Spanish cookery, except in some obscure families attached to ancient customs; in most houses it participates of the French cookery, and in some this has wholly supplanted that of Spain. Thus are the French every where imitated, whilst they are ridiculed and sometimes detested.

The modes of France have reached Spain as well as many other countries. French cloths, and the fashions and colours approved in France, are worn under the Spanish cloak. The veil is no longer exclusively worn but by the women of

the lowest classes; for others it serves but to hide the disorder of their dress when they go out on foot. Except in this case, their head-dress and whole attire are carefully adjusted to the French fashion. The Spanish manufacturers exert themselves to the utmost to serve the reigning taste, and to follow it through all its rapid variations without requesting the aid of France; but it may be asserted, without prejudice, that they are yet far from being able to attain their end. Great cities, and even the court, tacitly acknowledge this by having immediate recourse to Paris or Lyons, as to the only true sources of fashions. In this respect, as in many others, the Spaniards who affect the *bon ton*, confess the superiority of France, and receive from that nation lessons on elegance. Their tables are served after the French manner; they have French cooks, house stewards, and valets de chambre. French milliners are employed to invent and make new dresses for the ladies. Their heavy inelegant equipages disappear

pear by degrees, and are exchanged for those of their French neighbours. They neglect no means of engaging French artists and manufacturers to settle in Spain, and hold not out to them in vain the prospect of a rapid fortune.

These homages are not confined merely to frivolous objects. The best French works on morality, philosophy, and history are, as well as those of the English, translated into the Spanish language, provided they do not appear dangerous to the purity of the faith. French literary works of mere amusement, are for the most part those only which have but little merit in the eyes of the Spaniards; and their taste, in this respect, still appears far from inclining to change.

Their imagination bold to extravagance, for which bombast is but enthusiasm, finds French ideas cold and timid. Accustomed to exaggeration and redundance, they are unable properly to

value either the justness or precision of the language of French writers. The fine shades of French ridicule and manners escape their eyes, too much accustomed to caricature; and with respect to style, their ear, vitiated by the pompous prosody of their cadenced periods, by the frequent and affected repetition of their sonorous words, can find no grace in accents which speak more to the mind than the senses; and the roundness of elegant French periods is to them entirely lost.

What chiefly prevents a reform in their literature, are the models they still admire and endeavour to imitate; these are distinguished by that bad taste which infected all the nations of Europe, and to which the first literary men in France have paid an ample tribute. The great Corneille was not always free from it, but the finest productions of Racine, Boileau, Paschal, Bossuet, la Bruyere, Massillon, Bourdaloue, Flechier and Fenelon were erected on its ruins;

as were also those of Voltaire, who, placing the top stone of the edifice, has insured its immortal duration.

Had French literature remained in the state it was when Ronfart, Marot, Benferade, Voiture and Balzac wrote, their very defects would still serve as models, and we should possess wit and imagination without either reason or taste. What might have happened in France, had no improvement been there made in letters by a concurrence of circumstances, has happened to the Spaniards. Since the time of Lopes de Vega, Quevedo, Rebolledo and others, whose imaginations, though wild and licentious, were brilliant and fertile, no author with these splendid qualities, and at the same time endowed with that good sense which directs their use, has appeared in Spain. Letters have, for upwards of a century, been in the same state. These men of genius, frequently extravagant even to absurdity in their conceptions, have remained models of

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style; and their example, without having produced any thing comparable with that which in them is justly admired, has served as an excuse to every reprehensible irregularity of imagination, and all the violent bombast of false eloquence. The national taste is formed upon these models in so invariable a manner, that some authors who have endeavoured to introduce into the theatre the elegant simplicity which French dramatic writers have attempted to revive, have gained no attention, so that the Spanish stage is still in the same situation as when Boileau satirized its extravagance with so much severity.

It would, however, be unjust to judge of this theatre according to Boileau's severe criticism. It undoubtedly still suffers pieces in which the law of the three unities is flagrantly violated. But besides that, this law may be considered as arbitrary, or at least not absolutely indispensable; there are many Spanish pieces in which it is not transgressed in
such

such a manner as to be prejudicial to the interest. The Spaniards themselves pass condemnation upon most of their heroic comedies, in which princes and princesses, from all corners of Europe, assembled without motive, as well as without probability, are by turns either actors or sports of the most incredulous adventures, relate, converse, and joke even in the most critical situations, and conclude by uselessly shedding their blood without having made any spectator shed a tear. Although several of these pieces have original beauties, and all afford proofs of the rare talent of inventing a complicated intrigue, and of finding its *dénouement* in the thread which has served to form it, the Spaniards found not upon this the much contested reputation of their theatre.

But there are some of these productions which they justly consider as intitled to the admiration even of strangers. These are their characteristic pieces, which, though not so well conducted

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as the best French pieces of the same kind, and though they cannot boast the same accuracy in the choice of ideas and expressions, are generally pleasing in the ground work, faithful in most of the characters, and prove in their authors an uncommon fertility of imagination.

The pieces the Spaniards call *de Capa y Espada*, are those which more particularly present an exact representation of ancient manners, and these comedies are perhaps the real sources to be resorted to in the study of them. It is in these pieces that the generosity by which those manners are still characterised, those flights of patriotism and religious zeal which formerly rendered the Spaniards capable of the greatest efforts; the swellings of national pride, which the pomp of style renders so noble; that irritability with respect to the delicate subjects of love and honour, which made duels so frequent in Spain, before the causes which softened the manners of all Europe had gained sufficient influence
over

over those of the modern Spaniards; the sacrifices and ardour of hopeful love, and the anguishes and arts of a disappointed passion are traced in the most lively colours. All the combats of the passion of love, all its resources, all the disorders it produces, in a word, all the intrigues now in use, were never publicly represented by any nation with greater variety than by the Spaniards at the period when jealousy, the difficulty of approaching women, and a thousand other obstacles arising from the circumstances of the times, rendered lovers more impatient, desires stronger, and temptations more violent. Such is the description given by the comedies of which the Spaniards are as fond as they were at the time they first appeared.

Their authors, of which Lopes de Vega, Roxas, Solis, Moreto, Arellano, and particularly the immortal Calderon de la Barca are the most celebrated, have so established this kind of comedy by their success, that more modern authors,

authors, as Zamora and Canizares, who wrote at the beginning of this century, dare not attempt any other.

The Spanish theatre therefore still continues, excepting some difference, what it was in the last century; and notwithstanding all I have just said, I cannot but allow that it is full of defects. Incidents unseasonably succeed each other, and are without probability; inequalities are unmerous and every thing is confounded. Real tragedy is never seen without a mixture unworthy of its noble nature; and all the comedies, like some of our chamber pieces, equally condemned by reason and taste, associate with affecting and sometimes terrible scenes, a wretched parade, fit only for the booths of a fair. An insipid buffoon, under the name of *Gracioso*, incessantly disturbs the attention with his vulgar grimace, and by the bursts of laughter he provokes, arrests the tears which were ready to flow. Lovers are prolix haranguers; an expression of sentiment or delicacy from them, is preceded by a
long

long and cold metaphysical dissertation upon love. Instead of a mother, son, king or warrior, you would imagine you were hearing some professor of rhetoric, who to distinguish himself in his art, abuses the talent of speech. Custom has made it necessary that each comedy should contain several recitals or narratives, in which the author and actor, losing sight of the story and the audience, seem to be wholly employed in making a parade, one of his vain eloquence, the other of his pretended talent of enforcing at the expence of his lungs, and by ridiculous, vulgar, and monotonous gestures, the multiplied descriptions of his long declamation. Both are certain to receive, as a recompence for their effort of strength, an ample share of applause. On the other hand the plot is so confused, that there are few Spanish pieces to which these lines of Boileau may not be applied :

Et qui debrouillant mal une pénible intrigue
D'un divertissement me fait une fatigue. *

* And who badly developing a laboured plot, renders amusement a fatigue.

What

What however appears singular is, this fatigue seems not to be felt by Spanish auditors, although they are for the most part of those classes which a total want of education, or at least one much neglected, renders incapable of reflection and combination. I have known many well informed strangers, acquainted with the language of the country, who have declared to me, after the representation of a Spanish comedy, that they should have great difficulty in giving an analysis of it, whilst uneducated Spaniards proved by their recitals, that they had not for a single instant lost the thread of the labyrinth in which others had been bewildered.

Has habitually frequenting the theatre, added to a knowledge of the language and manners, which strangers can never possess to the same degree as natives of the country, exclusively bestowed on these persons this singular aptitude? or have the Spaniards received to a greater degree than others the gift of imagining complicated plots, and of following through
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all their workings those which they themselves have not invented? They have however, this incontestible advantage over the French. Several of my countrymen, who want neither wit nor education, have confessed to me, that at a first representation they have not been able to conceive the whole of some of our modern comedies, which in fact, approach in certain respects those of the Spaniards, and it is perhaps the only reason why several of the latter, which, were a few particulars changed, ought to be every where approved, would not be successfully represented on the French stage. This is a homage which our ancestors were more disposed to render them than we are.

The advantages which Moliere and Corneille derived from the Spanish theatre are well known. The principal beauties of the Cid and of Heraclius were taken from Guillen de Castro and Calderon. The Spanish theatre might still be to us an abundant source of dramatic wealth, especially

especially at present, when our imagination, much less fertile than that of our neighbours, appears to be exhausted, and when our taste more refined and fixed than in the time of Corneille, would be better able to extract from that mine the treasures it conceals. Exact translations of the best Spanish pieces would furnish the means. These we have hitherto wanted; Mr. Linguet gave some of them to the public on entering his literary career. But he confessed that he knew not enough of the Spanish language, completely to fulfil the task; on which account his translations are no more than abridgements, in which, nothing but the skeleton of a dramatic poem is preserved; and the passages not rendered, were not those which displeased the translator, but such as he did not understand. Still these essays, imperfect as they may be, are sufficient to prove the great talents of the Spaniards for the theatre, their fertile imagination, their art in forming and working up a plot, and producing interesting situations and unexpected discoveries.

coveries. With all these advantages, they still want more natural dialogue to possess every essential to produce a good comedy. Authors who would enrich themselves with their works, must consult reason and their own national taste, to add to the pieces they may borrow this additional grace. They would not fail to retrench the long and tedious narratives, the cold dissertations, and the disgusting buffooneries of the *Gracioso*, which are displeasing even to such of the Spaniards as are familiar with the real beauties of foreign writers, and ancient and modern literature. They would also sacrifice those points, the play of words, the *conceits*, a tribute paid by every nation to false wit at the revival of letters, which several authors of the age of Louis XIV. such as Voiture, Balzac, and Moliere himself, did not escape, and to which the modern Spaniards are still subject. I have frequently remarked with astonishment, that they honoured with the appellation of ingenious thoughts, and applauded with a kind of ecstasy, many pleasantries which we, who from our levity seem to be less nice about

any thing capable of exciting it, should place in the class of low witticism. When I observed to them that a play upon words was contrary to fine taste, that it should be abandoned to the populace, or confined to familiar conversation, in which, every thing is found agreeable provided it excites laughter, they obstinately maintained that in Spanish it had a subtilty which it was impossible for a stranger to perceive. It is true that even their serious works are so interlarded with these miserable quibbles, that there are some of them, which to me, it seems impossible to translate.* The Spaniards have no theatrical pieces in which they are not profusely bestowed; and the success they have with the multitude, proves their authors to be

* This is the case of all playing upon words, because it results from a fortuitous resemblance between two words in a language which have different meanings. It is easy to perceive, that a work in which there are many of these quibbles cannot be rendered in another language. Who would undertake to translate *la Béquille*? Several passages, and even whole works of some writers, as those of Quevedo, in other respects full of wit and originality, would be almost as difficult to render in French.

carried

carried away by the corrupted taste of the nation: they have endeavoured to flatter it, and by the ascendancy of their authority have rendered it incurable. Such of our authors as should attempt to introduce some of these pieces to the French theatre, would have no great merit in retrenching such vain ornaments. I would recommend them to chuse from those of Calderon. Most of the other Spanish comic poets recompence not, like him, their defects by the originality of their invention. Lopez de Vega, the Spanish author with whom strangers are most acquainted, and whom his countrymen, always emphatical in their eulogiums, extol as, *admirable in lyric poetry, eloquent in heroic, melodious in pastoral, grave in epic, and ingenious and fertile in dramatic,** is still

* The epithet *fertile* cannot be disputed him: it has been repeatedly said, that he wrote three thousand pieces. When truth already surpasses probability, exaggeration is at least useless. Perez de Montalvan, who knew Lopez de Vega, allows him but eighteen hundred comedies; but these sufficiently entitle him to the epithet *fertile*. His contemporaries assure us, that upon a hint from the king or some courtier, he

still more extravagant in his plots than Calderon. However, he was better acquainted

composed a comedy in one night. These rapid productions had then a merit which at present they have not. They related some temporary anecdotes, and presented good likenesses of certain persons whom the malignity of the court wished to turn into ridicule. They could not survive these transient circumstances. But few of them are now pleasing to the modern Spaniards, and in the voluminous edition they have recently given of the works of Lopez de Vega, very few of those comedies are inserted. The principal among them is his *Dorothea*, which the Spaniards still consider as a master piece of wit, sensibility, and delicacy, but in which I found nothing but vulgar manners, described in a perplexed style; there are nevertheless some ingenious ideas and marks of sentiment. I open this comedy by accident, and find in the stanzas which Ferdinand sings in praise of Dorothea the following passage: *Between the moon and thy favour, and the sun and thy eyes, the earth of thy rigour places itself to cast a shade and cause eclipses.* In another place, speaking of his grief, of which, he says, he has no confidants but the rocks and wild beasts, he adds: *These, by their rearings, spread terror, and find in their entrails the echo of my complaints.* An old woman who cajoles Dorothea with no good intention, and who praises her for the taste of her dress, says to her, *Behold these ornaments with which the sun might trim the robes of his planets.*

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quainted than any of his cotemporaries with the rules of the theatre. He has reconciled his countrymen to them. He perhaps would have had the honor of effecting a total revolution in their taste had he had the courage to join example to precept; but he preferred to this the momentary satisfaction of flattering their foibles. Posterity has passed judgment upon this culpable complaisance. Few of his pieces have come down to us, whilst those of Calderon, more original, elegant and varied, with a greater justness in his characters, are still received with transport in the present age. After Calderon, Moreto holds a distinguished rank among the Spanish dramatists; but his plots are no less faulty, and his style still more corrupt than those of the former; and the buffooneries of his *Graciosos*, which constitute the chief merit of his pieces, would not be suffered on our theatre.

The comedy of *Dorothea*, like most of those of the Spanish theatre, is full of similar witticisms, which Moliere would not have dared to give to his *Precieuses Ridicules*.

Nearly the same observations are true of Zamora, who wrote towards the end of the last century. Cannizares, who began when Zamora was upon the decline, was successful in some pieces which are still well received, called by the Spaniards, *Comedias de figurones*; a kind of caricature farce in the style of our *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac**, but which can only be relished by spectators who are well acquainted with the originals they are meant to satirize. Such are *Domine Lucas*, and the *Montanez en la Corte*, of which the vulgar buffoonery and grotesque scenes would not succeed upon our theatre, if even a number of circumstances, which exclusively relate to the customs of the country, did not render them unintelligible.

The comedies which have appeared since these, are without merit in the eyes of the Spaniards themselves. This kind of literature has been left to the most

* A favorite French comedy by Moliere.

ordinary

ordinary writers, who, without genius, and servilely following their models, imitate their extravagance only, and seem to have nothing by view but to please the populace in flattering their inclination to the marvellous, lavishing romantic adventures, and gross witticisms, and having recourse to all the contemptible resources which so ill supply the want of real abilities. The men of letters who may have talents proper for the drama, despairing to bring it among their countrymen to the rules of good taste, cultivate other branches of literature,

They have, however, made some attempts, the success of which has proved that what is really excellent pleases in all countries. Several translations of the best French tragedies have been well received by the same public, which has been so much accustomed to the extravagance and buffoonery of the Spanish theatre. Poets, still living, have written some tragedies invented by them-

selves, and executed upon the models of those of the French stage, that is to say, freed from that irregularity of style, complication of incidents, and that mixture of vulgar and wretched buffoonery with the most pathetic scenes. Their works, however, have only excited a cold admiration, and were soon obliged to give place to irregular productions which now reign without a rival.

There are, notwithstanding, some modern pieces which have at least the merit of faithfully delineating characters. These are what the Spaniards call *Saynetes* or *Entremes*, which are little pieces in one act, as simple in their plots as those of great pieces are complicated. The manners and character of the inferior classes of society, and the petty interests which associate or divide them, are therein represented in the most striking manner. It is not an imitation but the thing itself. The spectator seems to be suddenly transported into a circle of Spaniards, where
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he is present at their amusements and little cavilings. The manner of dress is so faithfully copied that he is sometimes disgusted. He sees porters, flower girls, and fish-women, who have all the gestures, manner and language of those he has seen a hundred times in the street. For these kinds of characters the Spanish comedians have an admirable talent. Were they equally natural in every other they would be the first actors in Europe. The composition of these little pieces, however, require no great talents. It might be supposed the author was afraid of going too far, and only waited for an expedient to withdraw himself from his embarrassment. He opens the door of a private house, and presents, as by chance, some of the scenes which most commonly pass in it; and as soon as he thinks the spectator's curiosity satisfied, he shuts the door and the piece concludes.

The *Saynetes* seem to have been invented to give relief to the attention of the

the audience fatigued by following the intrigue of the great piece through its inextricable labyrinth. Their most certain effect is that of making you loose the clew; for it seldom happens that the real Spanish comedies are represented without interruption. They are composed of three acts, called *Jornadas*. After the first act comes the Saynete, and the warrior or king, whom you have seen adorned with a helmet or a crown, has frequently a part in the little piece; and to spare himself the trouble of entirely changing his dress, sometimes preserves a part of his noble or royal garments. His fash or buskin still appears from beneath the dirty cloak of a man of the lowest class, or the robe of an Alcalde. The stranger, who is ignorant of the odd custom of joining together objects so incongruous, imagines the hero who has so long occupied his imagination has assumed a disguise useful to his purpose; and seriously seeks for the connexion between that scene and those

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preceding. When the Saynete is finished, the principal piece is continued.

After the second act, there is a new interruption longer than the first; another Saynete begins, and is succeeded by a species of comic-opera, very short, and called *Tonadilla*. A single actress frequently performs the whole, she relates, in singing, either an uninteresting adventure, or some trivial maxims of gallantry; if she be a favourite with the public, and her indecent manner satisfies the admirers of this insipid and sometimes scandalous representation, she obtains the applause, which she never fails to solicit at the conclusion, and the third act of the great piece is permitted to begin. It may be imagined what becomes of illusion and interest after these interruptions, on which account, it is not uncommon to see, after the *Tonadilla* is finished, the audience diminish and become reduced to the few who are unacquainted with the principal piece, or whose curiosity is strong enough to make them
wait

wait to see the unravelling. From what has been said, it may be judged that the Spaniards feel but few lively, strong or contrived emotions, which in other countries are the delight of the lovers of the dramatic art. The Saynetes and Tonadillas are frequently in Spain what are most attractive in these strange medleys, and it must be confessed the auditor may be satisfied with them when he goes to the theatre to relax, and not agreeably to employ, his mind. After a short residence in Spain, it is easy to conceive the attraction which the Saynetes and Tonadillas may have for the people of the country. Manners, dress, adventures and music; all are national; besides, there are frequently presented in these little pieces two species of beings peculiar to Spain, and whose manners and expressions ought to be held in contempt; but which, on the contrary, are the objects of much mirth and pleasure, and sometimes of imitation. These are the *Majos* and the *Majas* on the

the one part, and the *Gitandos* and *Gitanas* on the other.

The *Majos* are beaux of the lower class, or rather bullies, whose grave and frigid pomposity is announced by their whole exterior. They have an accent, habit and gesture peculiar to themselves. Their countenance, half concealed under a brown stuff bonnet, called *Montera*, bears the character of threatening severity, or of wrath, which seems to brave persons the most proper to awe them into respect, and which is not softened even in the presence of their mistresses. The officers of justice scarcely dare attack them. The women, intimidated by their terrible aspect, seem to wait with resignation the soft caprice of these petty sultans. If they are provoked by any freedoms, a gesture of impatience, a menacing look, sometimes a long rapier or a poniard concealed under their wide cloak, announce that they cannot permit familiarity with impunity. The *Majas*, on their parts, rival these caprices

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as much as their feeble means will permit ; they seem to make a study of effrontery. The licentiousness of their manners appears in their attitudes, actions, and expressions ; and when lewdness in their persons is cloathed with every wanton form, all the epithets which admiration can inspire are lavished upon them. This is the disagreeable side of the picture. But if the spectator goes with a disposition, not very scrupulous, to the representation in which the *Majas* figure ; when he becomes familiarized to manners very little conformable to the virtues of the sex, and the means of inspiring ours with favourable sentiments, he sees in each of them the most seducing priestesses that ever presided at the altars of Venus. Their impudent affectation is no more than a poignant allurements, which introduces into the senses a delirium that the wisest can scarcely guard against, and which, if it inspire not love, at least promises much pleasure.

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The most indulgent persons will, however, be displeased that the Majos and Majas are thus received upon the theatre, and preserve their allurements even in the circles of good company. In most countries the inferior classes think it an honour to ape their superiors; in Spain it is the contrary, in many respects. There are, among both sexes, persons of distinguished rank, who seek their models among the heroes of the populace, who imitate their dress, manners, and accent, and are flattered when it is said of them, *He is very like a Majo.—One would take her for a Maja.* This is, indeed, renouncing the nobility of one of the sexes, and the decency which constitutes the principal charm of the other.

The *Gitanos* and *Gitanas*, still more dangerous than the Majos and Majas, might be the objects of the same reflections. They are, in fact, a kind of gipsies who run about the country, lead a dissolute life, tell fortunes, exercise
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all kinds of suspicious professions, have among themselves a language, particular signs, and the appearance of dexterous knaves who prey upon the innocent. This class of vagabonds, of which society ought to be purged, has hitherto been tolerated*; and characters are given to them upon the stage, amusing by their originality and their resemblance to the models of which they are the copies; but their effect renders vice familiar by concealing its deformity under a gay exterior. They are, if I may so say, the shepherds of the Spanish stage, certainly less insipid, but at the same time less innocent than those of ours. Their tricks, plots, and amo-

* Two years ago, the king, in consequence of representations from the council of Castile, which constantly watches over the manners of the country, ordered a kind of edict to be published, which relates to this wandering race, and forbids the Gitanos from living in troops and in places difficult of access, and from continuing their name, language and signs, and, besides, offers them the means of becoming useful and respectful citizens.

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rous intrigues, suited to their manners, are the subjects of several saynetes and tonadillas, and probably serve as lessons to some of the spectators.

It appears to me that the Spaniards, more than other nations, have lost sight of the influence the theatre might have upon public morals. By confining the functions of Thalia to her motto, not perfectly applicable in my opinion (*Castigat ridendo mores*) they are reduced to the correcting of some ridiculous absurdities, by amusing and interesting a chosen part of the nation. Comedy, I think, might have a more useful and extended purpose; and notwithstanding the authority of our best pieces, and the censures of the critics, it inclines to this in France. If the aim of the comic muse should be, indeed, the improvement of morals, why does not she more frequently present us models of virtue, more within our reach and easier of imitation than those of our tragedies? If patriotism, the love of glory,

heroic virtues and philosophy of an order superior to the ordinary classes penetrate our minds at the representation of one of our best tragedies, why should not they be softened, warmed and improved by the affecting representation of virtues more frequently in use? and who would then dare to say, that comedy was not one of the most successful teachers of morality? Do not we too frequently see how successfully vice borrows the mask of Thalia? Why should it not then be employed in the service of virtue? The Spaniards, our predecessors if not our masters, our guides if not our models, in the drama, have been less timid than we. They have, in their ancient comedies, powerful examples of every virtue which can be recommended to a people; loyalty, firmness, justice and beneficence. Whatever may be said to the contrary, and notwithstanding the extravagance which serves as a canvass to the poet, and the exaggeration of the features of the picture he gives, people leave these representations

sentations more disposed to the exercise of those virtues, than they would be after the performance of the best pieces entirely comic, in which the poet confines himself to placing a well-drawn character in different situations, and whence lessons of a vicious tendency and malignity are rather learned than those of goodness. I compare not the talents necessary to excel in either kind of writing; I speak of their moral effect only, and am free to say, that in this point of view, it is to be regretted that governments take not more effectual means to recall comedy to the aid of virtue; whereas, on the contrary, they have suffered it to ridicule what ought to be held in the highest respect.

In their modern productions, equally irregular and immoral, the Spaniards have gone greater lengths than we have. Not only the most generally received propriety is sacrificed in them, but they contain a description of every kind of vice and debauchery, without

exciting the horror they should inspire. The conspiracies of a son against a father, the brutality of husbands, the infidelity of wives, even the plottings of malefactors who escape punishment, all are hazarded by the authors, suffered by the police, and well received by the public. The consequences of this tolerance are, however, important, particularly in Spain, where the theatre is frequented by every class of citizens, and may infect, with the venom distilled there, the higher as well as lower ranks of subjects. The populace seems to be the principal object the authors and actors have in view; and the greater number of frequenters of the theatres are of that description. Their fancies must be pleased, and their perverse tastes flattered; and the tumultuous manner in which they express their coarse sensations, intirely drowns the less noisy approbation of the more enlightened part of the audience; perhaps the only example of the kind in a government of the nature of those in which the common people are but
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OF SPAIN.

little considered, and fashioned to the yoke of a power which may almost be stiled arbitrary.

We should be naturally led to suppose a theatre, under so little restraint, must prevent persons, who by their age and professions are more particularly obliged to preserve an appearance of decency, from frequenting it; for which reason a stranger is not a little astonished to see at these representations, in which modesty and morality are so often insulted, not only young persons of exterior modesty, but ecclesiastics, whose grave countenance and dress, austere in its simplicity, might be expected to impose an awe upon licentiousness. A wise pagan formerly left the theatre of Rome, for fear of authorizing, by his presence, the disorders there described in colours at which his virtue was offended. Spanish priests, intolerant in the most trifling objects, are not so scrupulous. If their virtue be above scandal, ought not they to fear the effect of an example, which, in a country where they have so much influence,

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fluence, must become authority? But each country has its customs and incoherences. In other nations ecclesiastics never appear in prophane theatres, and yet in other places permit themselves the greatest irregularities.

To reform the Spanish theatre, a concurrence of circumstances, which are still wanting to that part of administration, would be necessary. The sovereign who, in this respect as well as in so many others, might have the greatest influence, is totally indifferent about theatrical amusements. The theatre of Saragossa having been burned a few years ago, the director of the king's conscience, who seemingly had forgotten that fire from heaven had destroyed more than one temple, wished to represent that accident as a proof of divine wrath. The inhabitants at Saragossa strove to appease the anger of heaven by banishing from their city all profane spectacles. Had the king's confessor been listened to, the same sentence would have been pronounced
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against all that were in the kingdom. The good sense of the king protected them against the blind zeal of the director; he thought it sufficient to have shut up those of Buen Retiro and his other palaces: he continued to tolerate the rest: this was all his goodness permitted him to do. The particular management of these amusements escapes his observation. His ministers, who are mostly near his person, cannot give them much of their attention.

At Madrid, the police of the theatre is divided between the corregidor, the city magistracy, and the alcaldes de corte; but the limits of their jurisdiction are ill defined; and from this uncertain authority result the disorders which every one sees, and nobody has the power of suppressing. The pieces, the admission of which is accompanied with many difficulties and formalities, escape from a similar reason the animadversion of their examiners.

Before they are permitted to be performed, they have to pass through the hands of three or four censors. It might be supposed that this excess of precaution would banish from these compositions every thing which can offend religion or decency. Each censor confides in the care and attention of his associate. A superficial examination does not permit them either to foresee the scandal which several expressions, sometimes unintelligible to them, may produce ; or that which may result from certain scenes with the theatrical effect of which they are unacquainted ; and the sensible part of the audience is astonished at seeing, after so many precautions, the stage disgraced by immoral pieces, at which decency and taste are equally shocked. The censors, besides, are frequently infected with the general contagion ; they fear but little the consequences of an abuse, the effects of which are slow and unperceived by those who consider only the present moment. Courage would be necessary to take suddenly from the people
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the favourite objects of their affection, and not to yield to the representations of the comedians whose receipts would suffer some diminution, about which scruples might arise. Reformation is thus retarded by weakness, excess of caution, and because no person sufficiently concerns himself in the matter, to withstand the clamours of the actors and the populace.

There have been in the present reign, however, examples of bold reforms, which cannot be too soon repeated to compleat the polishing of the Spanish nation. Government has entirely abolished the *Autos Sacramentales*, in which angels, saints and virtues, personified, were exhibited, to the scandal of religion and common sense; ridiculous pieces, in which Calderon had displayed all the extravagance of his imagination. The representation of several other pieces is also suppressed. These were in the class of ordinary comedies, and contained scenes not less scandalous
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in throwing ridicule upon religion ; such were *Los Zelos de San Josef*, *La Princesa Ramera*, *Virgin y Martyr*, &c. Dramas, in which the simplicity of an earlier age, no doubt, found edification, while the progress of knowledge and modern depravity finds in them nothing but impiety or indecency. While I was at Madrid, this prohibition was extended to other compositions of the same kind, which had been protected, nobody knows how, until the present age. These were *Cain de Catalunna*, in which the enmity between two brothers, and the murder of the youngest were described in the manner and expressions found in the Bible, in the history of the Death of Abel ; and *El Diablo predicador* (the Devil turned preacher) a comedy, which I saw several times represented, and of which the author of *Essays upon Spain* has given a good abstract. The devil condemned by the Almighty to take the frock in a convent of Franciscans, preaches there charity, performs miracles, torments the monks by his severity,

verity, frightens them by his sudden appearance when they imagine him at a great distance, and produces scenes really comic, to which nothing but another mode of introducing them could have been desired. The present administration is too wise not to pursue this plan of reform, and not insensibly to inspire the Spaniards with a more rational taste.

Besides the correction of the moral defect of the theatre, another revolution in the mechanical part remains to be effected. This has been begun in the present reign, by the attention of some persons of understanding. The decorations are better understood, and the dresses more in character than formerly. The Spanish theatre had weaker beginnings than ours, and, in some places, preserves the forms of its infancy. Two parallel curtains, facing the spectators, composed the whole mechanism of the theatre, and this simplicity was still found in some theatres which I entered in Spain. The prompter, for want of
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a proper situation, and finding no room between the side scenes, stands behind the second curtain, his candle in one hand and the book in the other, and runs across the stage to assist the actor who is in want of his aid; this, by the transparency of the curtain, is seen by all the spectators, and adds to their amusement. But in well-contrived theatres, as those of Madrid, and other great cities, the side-scenes, green-room, changes of decoration, and place of the prompter resemble our own. A stranger is, however, surprized to hear the prompter recite all the parts almost as loud as the actors, and is tempted to request the latter to be silent, to let him, who so well supplies the places of them all, speak alone.

The Spanish theatres are divided into five parts; the *Aposentos*, or two ranges of boxes, of which the upper part of the edifice consists. The *Cazuela*, a kind of amphitheatre at the bottom, into which none but women, covered with their veils,

veils, are admitted, and who might be taken for a company of nuns, were it possible for the mind to be so absent as to confound things sacred with profane. *Las Gradass*, another amphitheatre under the boxes on each side of the theatre, and where persons who love to be at their ease are placed. The *Patio*, which answers to the parterre or pit, but for the most part contains the meanest of the people, who sufficiently display their vulgarity, ignorance, and rags. The *Luneta* which corresponds with the French parquet*, and receives much the same company. The actors often apostrophize these five classes of spectators, under the name of *Mosqueteros*, and lavish upon them all the insipid epithets which they think likely to gain their suffrages. These flatteries are not spared upon the *Patio*, which is always noisy, and as difficult as if it had a right to be so. When we observe the attention the come-

* An enclosed place between the pit and the orchestra in the French theatre.

dians pay to this part of the audience, we cannot but recollect the Indians worshipping the devil, or the honey cake thrown by the Sibyl into the jaws of Cerberus.

These insipid homages are rendered after every piece to the audience in general, and are degrading to the comedians, who are not treated with less rigour, when they have the misfortune to displease the public. At Madrid they are divided into two theatres, that of *De la Cruz*, and that of *Du Principe*, who are joined in one interest, but separated by vanity. The partisans of the former are distinguished by the epithet of *Polacos* (Polish) and those of the latter by that of *Chorizos* (Sausages) odd names, the etymology of which is a matter of no importance, but which serve to rally the spirit of party, and are motives of emulation to the actors of the two theatres, much less to improve their talents than to increase their audience, and consequently their revenues. Each theatre
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has for manager one of the comedians, who every year, at the approach of Easter, dissolves and recomposes his company according to his fancy. Those whose talents are approved of by the public, then treat with both managers, and engage with him who has most cunning or generosity. It may be supposed the *Gracioso*s are not forgotten in this periodical arrangement.

Of these there are two principal ones at Madrid, who, excepting a little exaggeration, would be well received as *valets* upon every other theatre. The two managers agree to take each of them one, as well as to divide the principal actors, lest there should be in their companies too great an inequality, by which they would both suffer. Beside these, they have each of them performers of both sexes, whose talents are much esteemed by the public; but they are of a nature more proper for parade, than for the real theatre of *Thalia*. All those who study nature, who add cheerfulness to the graces, the force of
sentiment

sentiment to nobleness of expression, and render the art of declamation the sister and rival of the fine arts, are little known in Spain. The comedians of that kingdom are confined to the servile imitation of the models before their eyes, in their dress, manners and inflections of voice. They know not how to create imaginary but yet possible characters, and represent princes as haughty without being boisterous, or lovers as impassioned without losing sight of decency; in which, declamation costs not the lungs continual and monotonous efforts, but is varied according to the affections of the mind, in which gestures, modified by the same causes, are varied and expressive, without being less noble or true, and nature embellished without being disguised. Instead of effecting this, upon which the improvement of the art depends, the Spanish comedians, once removed from objects within their reach, forget every rule, exaggerate and disfigure every thing, and instead of economising their strength to obtain an end, exhaust themselves

selves in going beyond it. Their angry women become furies, their heroes braggadocios, their conspirators vile malefactors, and their tyrants mere butchers. If they have something gallant to say, their manner and tone of voice are most insipid. They roar instead of sobbing; their sighs fatigue and sometimes terrify the audience, but are never moving. Scenes which might be pathetic, either become uninteresting or excite laughter. The gestures are well suited to the declamation. Most of them are forced and improper, and all are confined within a narrow circle. Invented by folly, they are consecrated by custom, from which no actor dares to depart. They are undoubtedly far different from those of Clairon, le Kain, Garrick and other modern actors and actresses who might be mentioned. For which reasons, comedians in Spain, notwithstanding the indulgence with which prejudice and even religion treat their profession, are considered as mercenaries, admitted into society as jugglers who amuse for a

moment, and are sent away after being paid; whilst, in other countries, where civil and religious prejudices are more unfavourable to them, the just admiration they inspire raises them to the level of great artists, and almost to that of men of genius. This proves public opinion not to be always inflexible in its decisions, and that this tyrant which reigns over every thing is, in turn, subjected by a certain degree of success.

Since the death of Ferdinand VI. whose splendid court had an Italian theatre which rivalled the first of those in Italy, there has been no theatre in Spain but a national one. Charles III. however, has lately permitted in the capital an Italian comic opera which is much frequented; and still more recently an attempt has been made to introduce there French comedy. Subscriptions were opened to this effect, but the devotees cabaled; they were more scandalized at the *Misanthrope* and *Athalie* than at the indecencies of their *Saynetes*.

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The French dramatic pieces, said they, are filled with maxims of toleration; they breathe too much modern philosophy. They enumerate thirteen heretical assertions in the single piece of *Pygmalion*. The general hospital also, a part of the revenues of which arise from the contributions of the two Spanish theatres, expressed its fears lest its receipt should be diminished. The monarch yielded to this double claim of scruple and charity; and the *Thalia* of France, who already saw the doors of the Spanish theatre open to receive her, was thrust from them, perhaps, for a long time.

I shall conclude what I had to say of my long residence at Madrid with this impartial description of the theatre of Spain, in which the Spaniards themselves cannot but acquiesce, and shall next conduct my reader to the only royal mansion of which I have not yet spoken; that of Aranjuez, where the court passes three months in the year;

from the Monday after Easter week to the end of the month of June.

The road from Madrid to Aranjuez is one of the finest in Europe. It crosses the famous bridge of Toledo, built by Philip II. and, which it has been said, wanted only a river. The bridge has nothing remarkable except its length and breadth ; it is besides a massive structure, and the parapets are loaded with ill-chosen ornaments. When the Manzanares is very low, which is most commonly the case, this little river is fordable, and the bridge avoided, which cuts off a quarter of a league in crossing the fine part of the environs of Madrid called *las Delicias*, a walk consisting of two divergent alleys which terminate at the canal of Manzanares.

This canal was begun under the administration of M. de Grimaldi, and was to join the Manzanares at the Tagus. Scarcely were three leagues of it finished when a want of capital and industry
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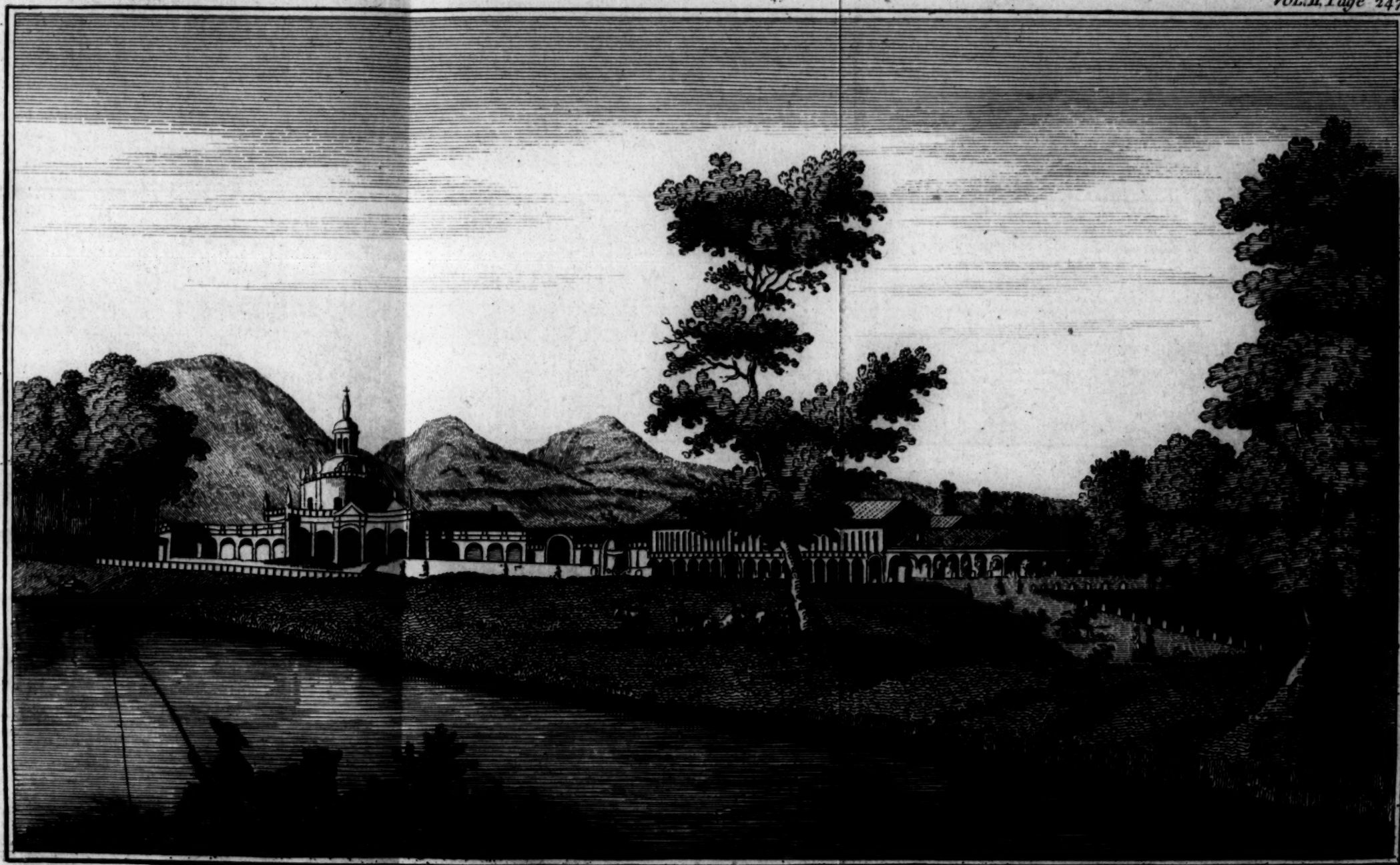
suspended the works. The only advantage derived from it is the produce of a few mills; and this is absorbed in the repair of bridges, sluices, and the salaries of the persons employed. For in Spain, as in other countries, scarcely is an establishment begun before the expences of supporting it are as considerable as if it were compleated. But the activity given to all the branches of administration will soon have its effect upon the canal of Manzanares. The mills upon it are already useful to the undertakings of the bank, charged with victualling the army, and the canal itself will in a short time become a part of that which, as we have already observed, is to cross all the interior part of Spain. The Manzanares is fordable a little beyond the bridge of Toledo, and on the other side begins the fine road of Aranjuez, whence are seen some groups of olive trees which announce to the traveller that he approaches their native soil, la Mancha, the kingdom of Valencia, and Andalusia. After having jour-

neyed six leagues, on a narrow and even road, you descend by a spiral declivity to the charming valley of Aranjuez.

The Xarama, which you cross over a very fine stone bridge, runs at the foot of the hills, by which the river is formed, to the north. As soon as you arrive in this valley, the dry and naked plains of Castile disappear, and are succeeded by a richer soil, where you travel in the shade, serenaded by the noise of cascades and the murmur of rivulets. The meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the pastures display the most lively and variegated colours. Vegetation appears in all its richness, and proclaims a neighbouring river which, with its beneficent waters, fertilises and vivifies the landscape. The Tagus, which enters the valley at the east end, runs in meanders for two leagues, and, after having reflected the images of the most beautiful plantations, joins the Xarama.

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VIEW OF ARANJUEZ.
from the Tagus.

The learned find in this junction the etymology of the name of Aranjuez. They tell us the ancients erected temples at the confluence of rivers; that there was one in honour of Jupiter at that of the Tagus and Xarama; and that thence is derived the name *Aram-Jovis*, whence *Aranjuez* by corruption. However ancient the name may be the embellishments of Aranjuez are modern.

The first Spanish monarch who resided there for a considerable length of time was Charles V. He began to build the palace his successors have inhabited, and to which Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. have each added a wing. In this new form, it is still less a royal mansion than a very agreeable country-house most delightfully situated, where art has done nothing more than make an advantageous use of the advances of nature. The Tagus which runs in a right line to the eastern front, glides by the parterre, and forms almost under the windows an artificial cascade.

A small arm of the river escapes from the cascade, and so closely washes the walls of the palace, that from the terrace the monarch may take the diversion of fishing. This arm afterwards rejoins the river, and thus forms a pleasant island, which is a vast garden of an irregular form, in which shade and fresh air are constantly found. In every season the warblings of birds, added to the murmurs of the waters of the Tagus, and of those which are spouted from the several fountains simply decorated, form a concert much less fatiguing to the mind than the languid and unvarying pleasures which magnificence leads in its train. While wandering amid the groves and thickets, or the labyrinth of the winding walks, and enjoying the luxury and calm of Nature, we imagine ourselves in the midst of rural solitude, and forget the vicinity of the court, the perplexity of intrigue, and the solitudes of ambition. If we approach the palace, filled with the pleasing ideas inspired by the asylum we have
quitted,

quitted, we cannot but reflect on the vicissitude of human affairs. This, we exclaim, is the peaceful retreat of a monarch, whose laws are obeyed beyond the immense ocean to the extremities of the Andes, and the most distant islands of the Indian Archipelago. In this palace was it that Charles V. and Philip II. agitated Europe by their turbulent politics. Hence was the league which disputed the crown of France with the prince called to it by birth-right and the wishes of his people, supported by the court of Madrid. At present a descendant of Henry IV. reigns there in peace; he possesses a throne whence the most dangerous enemies of his house have disappeared. He enlarges and embellishes their abode. In fact, Charles V. and Philip II. would find some difficulty in recognizing Aranjuez, which by the attention and improvements of the two last kings has been rendered one of the most pleasing palaces in Europe.

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The principal alleys, that especially of the *Calle de la Reyna*, which is the favourite walk of the court, were planted long before their time. The height of the trees, their enormous trunks and thick foliage, attest their antiquity and the fertility of the soil in which they have flourished for several centuries. But these are not the only ornaments of the valley of Aranjuez. Under Ferdinand VI. this palace consisted of little else than the castle. A few poor houses scattered over uneven and rugged ground at some distance from the royal habitation, served to lodge ambassadors and the nobles and gentry who followed the court. These huts have given place to regular, though not magnificent, buildings. The streets are straight and wide, perhaps too wide for the height of the houses and the heat of the climate. The plan, after which the new village of Aranjuez was built, was given by the marquis of Grimaldi, who, before he became first minister to his Catholic majesty, had resided at the Hague as his representative.

tative. He had there conceived the idea of forming in the centre of Castile a kind of Dutch village. His plan was accepted. The principal streets of Aranjuez are shaded by two double rows of trees, between which runs a river that keeps them continually fresh.

The village is separated from the castle by a large, but irregular square, decorated with a fountain. To cross the square in the hot season, a part of which the court passes at Aranjuez, was a painful task, from which the beneficent magnificence of the sovereign has exempted those by whom he is approached. From one of the streets of Aranjuez there runs a covered portico, which is continued to the buildings adjoining to the palace.

It would require too much time to conduct the reader through all the fine plantations of Aranjuez; I shall speak only of the principal. Arriving from Madrid we cross a circular space called

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Las doce calles, from twelve allies which there terminate. One of the allies leads to the entrance of *Las Huertas*, a large enclosure, in which we cannot but admire the astonishing fertility of the soil of Aranjuez. All kinds of fruit trees, flowers, and vegetables luxuriantly flourish beneath the shade of trees whose tops are sometimes lost in the clouds. If the traveller wishes to see more rich cultivation, and on a larger scale, he must take the road for Toledo and cross the *Campo Flamenco*, which undoubtedly takes its name from the resemblance it bears to the fine fields of Flanders. The *Cortijo* is also worthy of his particular attention. This is a large enclosure shut in on the side to the north by hills, and on the other by a latticed barrier, within which the soil, cultivated with particular care, repays with interest the labours of the husbandman, and the attention of the king, who has caused it to be planted with vine-suckers, brought from different parts of his kingdom.

Lastly,

Lastly, the *Huerta de Valentia* presents the traveller with various new and successful modes of cultivation, and, as it were, a foretaste of that kingdom. Besides fields of flax, vineyards, and artificial meadows, there are mulberry plantations, and a building consecrated to the produce of the precious insect which feeds upon their leaves. But the *Calle de la Reyna*, which, If I may so speak, forms the angle of the plantations of Aranjuez, is that which is most known and remarkable in them. Its direction, for about half a league, is from east to west, and its termination at the foot of a stone bridge lately built over the Tagus. It is renewed on the other side, continues to much the same distance, and again terminates by a bridge over the same river, the windings of which can only be discovered by the imagination, while it wanders through a valley shaded with groves of high trees, which at intervals conceal its course. Behind one of these thick curtains is a cascade heard at a great distance, the
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noise of which is the only disturbance suffered by the tranquility of this solitary place. If with intention to discover this cascade we pass the second bridge of the Tagus, and follow the course of the river, it is impossible not to be delighted with the beauty of the prospects from the banks. In the happy confusion of the trees which line its borders, we recognize that Nature which art, taking for her model, imperfectly imitates in her feeble productions. Nature is no where more varied in her sportive caprices. Here the trees seem to have changed their element, and plunge their green tops into the waters of the Tagus. Their knotted trunks, placed as in equilibrium on the banks, are ready to escape from the earth, and wait but for the northern blast to obstruct with their spreading branches the course of the river by which they are watered. As we advance, the stream reflects the tufts of waving shrubs which, according to the idea of the Abbé de Lille, receive
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verdure in exchange for the decoration they afford.

If we retire from the banks, the same pleasing disorder reigns in the wood, which is sufficiently thick to afford a shade, without making it too difficult to find a passage through it. At length we approach the cascade which had awakened our curiosity. We arrive at it through thick bushes, and by zigzag paths; the object of it is to take from the Tagus a part of its waters. The arm turned from the bed of that river, runs in a deep ditch between artificial banks, and goes to water some of the plantations of Aranjuez, and to provide more at hand for the wants of the inhabitants. But shade and verdure instantly cease. Nothing is here seen but the naked hills which form the inclosure of the valley, and the spectator cannot but admire the art with which the picture is finished to recompence, as much as possible, the coarseness of its frame.

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At the foot of these hills are stables of breeding mares, belonging to the king of Spain, and in which the breed of Spanish horses is still preserved in all its ancient beauty. The building has for inscription, *Vento gravidas ex prole putaris*. By their race or breed you would imagine them prolific by the winds: the swiftness of the horses bred here justifies the inscription; but they are exclusively reserved to the service of the king and his family. Leaving this building to the left, you enter large walks which terminate at the *Calle de la Reyna*.

The high trees, of which I have spoken, are not the only ornaments of this alley. It is edged on both sides with tufted copses which render its regularity more agreeable. Here the numerous herds of deer which furnish amusement for the royal family, and, as at St. Ildefonso, seem conscious they have obtained a security that Nature appeared to have denied them, bound and run.

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They are seen peaceably feeding by the side of the great walk, and when they fly at the approach of any person, they seem less under the influence of their natural timidity than desirous to display their agility.

But the garden of the *Primavera*, or of the spring, is the greatest ornament of the *Calle de la Reyna*, at the same time that it delightfully perfumes the air during the season of which it bears the name. It extends, for the space of a mile, along one of the sides, and is separated from it by a low wall upon which is a lattice barrier. The fertility of the soil of the valley appears in all its richness in this garden. The greatest part of it is dedicated to useful cultivation. Pomona and Flora reign jointly, and mutually present each other their charms. Fruits and flowers flourish there in perfection. The groves oppose their hospitable shades to the noontide heat. Copses of odoriferous shrubs perfume the morning air, and the balmy vapours

they exhale, fall at sun-set to add to the charms of the evening walk.

When I arrived in Spain, all the ground between the inclosure of the garden and the primitive banks of the Tagus, was uncultivated. The prince of Asturias, by his taste and attention, converted this into one of the most pleasing parts of the valley. He ordered some useless trees, which shaded this fertile soil, to be cut down; grass plats, shrubberies and parterres have succeeded them, and paths wind across this new treasure of vegetation. From one spring to another a vast garden was produced, infinitely varied in its form as well as productions, which bears the name of its projector.

A little dock-yard is contrived within its inclosure, and communicates by an easy descent with the Tagus. In this yard are carried on the works of a navy in miniature, which has its builders, sailors, and vessels. Farther on was a kind

kind of port, defended by a battery proportioned to the place. A few handsome gondolas are anchored under its protection, and serve for the recreations of the younger branches of the royal family. There are likewise little frigates, elegantly decorated, the guns of which reply to the artillery of the port. The noise of their cannon, the huzzas of the sailors, and the display of the flags and streamers, almost induce the spectators to believe they are contemplating the contests of Mars and Neptune. Happy would men be, did they but content themselves with representations only, and had not a thirst after fame and riches converted into means of destruction the properties of elements which Nature, perhaps, had designed but for their pleasures! Those of the court of Spain at Aranjuez are not confined to the amusements afforded by a river, the banks of which present the most enchanting landscapes, whilst the peaceful stream never deviates from its course but to

fertilize the adjacent soil*. The residence of Aranjuez favours all the innocent diversions of the country; walks are no where more varied; whether with a book in your hand you wander in the shrubberies, or pass through the long alleys on horseback or in a carriage, you may securely indulge in meditation and reverie.

The deer there forget their timidity, and even the wild boars are less ferocious. They run in the streets as familiarly as domestic animals. The first time I quitted the inn, after my arrival at Aranjuez, I was obliged to make my way with my cane through a herd of wild boars, who blocked up my passage. Some of them, still more familiar, enter the houses, and there dispute with the

* Since this work was finished, I have learned that the Tagus quitted its bed at Aranjuez, broke down the causeway which sheltered the new gardens of the prince from its overflowings, and almost destroyed the new cultivation which the author of the plan had already found correspond so well with his expectation.

dogs the spoils of the kitchen. At Pardo they carry their assurance still farther ; at certain hours, to which they are very exact, they run from the neighbouring forest to receive food from the hands of the domestics of the palace.

The wild boars are not the only animals naturalized at Aranjuez. The buffalos, brought thither from Naples, have taken the place of the oxen, as working cattle. A part of their labours were performed by camels, which could not long resist the baneful influence of a foreign climate. At the same time two zebras grazed in a meadow near the high road, as also two guanacos, which seemed as perfectly at their ease as in their own country, whilst an elephant calmly moved his huge body without being in the least discomposed by the crowds of people, whom curiosity brought about him. It is, perhaps, in this manner that sovereigns should openly expose all the foreign animals which they crowd together in their menageries. These

magnificent prisons accuse man of tyranny without proving his power, and the beasts which there roar in their chains, would, perhaps, lay aside their ferocity on recovering their liberty. But man is every where too much inclined to abuse his power; and rather chuses to reign over furious slaves than govern happy subjects.

The animals which more especially contribute to the embellishment of Aranjuez are horses. They there peculiarly display all the beauty of their motions and their speed. The king sometimes brings thither his magnificent sets with which his studs furnish him, and his children enjoy, without danger, all the pleasure of horsemanship.

Formerly the *Calle de la Reyna* was the course where horses from Barbary displayed their swiftness, and each had his partisans among the courtiers, who interested themselves by wagers in his success.

A few

A few years since the prince of Asturias substituted to these races a more reasonable and useful amusement. It is called the *Parejas*, and takes place a few days before the departure of the court from Aranjuez; it has not been interrupted for twenty years, except by the war which took from the court a great part of those whom his majesty admitted to partake of it. These form, with the prince and his two brothers, a squadron of four in front and twelve deep. Each file is directed by one of the three princes, assisted by one of the principal persons of the court. The forty-eight cavaliers are all cloathed and accoutred in the ancient Spanish manner, but in different colours according to the file they belong. The uniform gives to the whole a military and antique air, which carries back the actors to the age of their ancestors, and gives them that interesting appearance which the image of things past generally wears. They practice a considerable time for the exhibition, which is given imme-

diately before the court departs from Aranjuez, and by this means have frequent opportunities of exercising the docility and elegant paces of their horses, the finest the modern studs of Spain produce. When, at length, the cavaliers and their horses are well exercised in the parts they are to perform, the first day of representation is fixed *. The theatre is a large square court before the castle. The brilliant squadron arrives there in a column, to the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, preceded by running footmen, and led horses richly caparisoned. They stop before the king's balcony and salute him. Afterwards pace round the square, and, arrived in the presence of his majesty, fall into a gallop and begin their evolutions. These are figures which cannot be better compared than to our *contre dances*. The four files, under the conduct of

* There are commonly three; the king is only seen at the first; but the princess of Asturia honours them all with her presence.

their

their directors, withdraw from and approach each other by turns; sometimes following the figure of the ground, at others crossing it diagonally, and describing circles and spirals with such time and precision as to delight both the eyes and ears of the spectators. However this spectacle, rather too unvaried, amuses not the mind; it is but a feeble representation of the ancient tournaments, and makes those festivals more regretted where under the eyes of sovereigns, and the beauties of the age, the knights, obeyed the double impulse of love and fame, and where the suffrages of those who reigned over their hearts were an inestimable recompense for their courage and address. Nothing less than the presence of the monarch, and contributing to his pleasures, could be sufficient to give satisfaction to the actors in this modern dance of centaurs. At the expiration of twenty minutes, the squadron forms a column, and retires from the square in the same order as it entered. After the exhibition there is

is commonly another ball, with refreshments; and for those whose curiosity has been satisfied in preceding years, this accessory is well worth the principal. When the weather is fine the *Parejantes* (for so the *figurans* of the equestrian *contre danse* are called) walk in their dresses in the gardens of the palace, and join the spectators. The subjects of Charles V. and those of Charles III. seem then to be united; imagination approaches these two reigns, and compares with pleasure the age of splendour in Spain with that of its regeneration.

Art seems to have left to Nature the care of embellishing Aranjuez. The palace and other edifices are of a pleasing form, but without magnificence. The furniture of the apartments is less rich than elegant. The paintings are not so numerous as in other royal mansions. There are only a few portraits of the princes of the house of Bourbon and Braganza, and some Neapolitan paintings, in which Nature is imitated with more truth than
grace.

gracefulness. The new chapel of the castle is that part of it to which most attention has been paid in the construction and ornaments. Sculpture and gilding are therein distributed with taste, without profusion, and a few pieces by Mengs contribute not a little to its decoration.

Aranjuez contains three churches; in one of which the connoisseur views with pleasure a copy of Raphael's carrying of the cross, of which I have spoken in the account of the palace of Madrid. It has for companion a crucifixion, by a modern painter named Ferro, the author of the copy. The most recently built church is that of the convent of Franciscans, called Saint Paschal, and was founded by the confessor to the king. I remarked, in the vestibule of this convent, pious inscriptions in the form of stanzas, which appeared to me of a singular kind. I could not resist my inclination to copy and translate them. The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased

pleased at seeing the language of devotion in Spain when it means to speak that of poetry. A penitent soul confesses its sins to God, and comforts itself in its contrition by the following stanzas.

“ Oh ! leave me, my sins, in God’s name
 “ leave me ! I have used you so much
 “ that you are unable to support your-
 “ selves any longer ; neither you nor
 “ myself can go farther : I have so ex-
 “ hausted you, that to sin to-morrow,
 “ I want desire, as you want power to
 “ make me do it.

“ Who would believe that thou thy-
 “ self, my God, hadst retarded my con-
 “ version ? Thou hast wronged thyself
 “ by thy patience in waiting for me ;
 “ I could not persuade myself (this be-
 “ tween ourselves) that thou wert
 “ God ; thou appearedst to me too of-
 “ fended and too patient for a God.

“ Thanks to thy cares, Oh my God,
 “ I am now converted. I yield to lassitude

“tude if not to repentance : I have so
“often followed the ways of vice, that
“to adopt another manner of life, hav-
“ing sinned as much as it is possible to
“do, at length, I sin no longer.

“I have offended thee to so great a
“degree that I thought, being unable
“to do any thing with me, thou wouldst
“be forced to pardon me. Here only
“is there still mercy, the most immu-
“table law of thy eternal throne ; for
“such is my perversity, that thou must
“either not execute justice on me, or
“increase the pains of hell.”

This convent stands in the highest and most healthy situation of the valley ; and hence the palace and plantations appear in the most agreeable point of prospect. Some of the views of Aranjuez were taken from this elevation. They form a pleasing collection, although but indifferently engraved. The king makes presents of the sets to such strangers of dis-

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distinction as are desirous of having them.

Since this collection appeared, the count of Florida Blanca, who has the superintendency of the *sitios* or royal mansions, has added, by new plantations, to the embellishments of Aranjuez. He has not, like his predecessors, an exclusive predilection for one of the four royal houses at the expence of the others; his attention is equally divided among them all. It is, however, difficult to render that of Aranjuez healthy. As long as the temperature of the air is moderate, every thing about the palace charms the senses, and the happiness of existence is perfectly enjoyed. Foreigners, who have travelled in many countries, have assured me that they knew no place in Europe where they would rather chuse to pass the fine season of the year than at Aranjuez. But at the approach of the violent heats of summer, when the scorching air, shut in by the valley, is loaded with exhalations

tions from a slow and muddy river, and with nitrous vapours drawn by the sun from the hills between which the Tagus runs, this valley of Tempe becomes a pernicious abode, *sufficient to send troops of souls to Acheron in a single day*. The inhabitants withdraw from it, and seek, upon the neighbouring heights, particularly at Ocanna, a little city, two leagues from the valley, a more wholesome air. Aranjuez, which during the month of May and the beginning of June, contains about ten thousand inhabitants, and is the resort of those who wish either for health or pleasure, becomes a desert exclusively inhabited by wild boars and deer. Few persons remain there, except those who are attached to it either by profession or poverty.

Let us now leave this charming palace, which I could wish to have inspired my reader with a desire of seeing; and since we have advanced almost ten leagues towards the kingdom of Valencia,

cia, let us proceed to visit the terrestrial paradise of Spain.

I undertook a journey to it, with a friend, at the end of April 1783, consequently, in the most favourable season. We set out from Aranjuez, and after having followed the *Calle de la Reyna*, turned to the left, and bid adieu to the shade, verdure and beauties of the environs. During the first seven leagues we several times approached the Tagus, but its naked and uninhabited banks offered not a single pleasing prospect.

A hamlet by the side of the river, at the distance of a league from the village of Villa-Manrique, must however be excepted. The noise of an artificial cascade, which drives two mills, the appearance of some beautiful trees, and about a dozen houses covered by their foliage, inclines the mind of the traveller to a momentary musing. This pleasing retreat is inhabited for some weeks in the year by monks, who at
other

other times reside at the castle of Ucles, by which we afterwards passed.

The road from Aranjuez to Fuentiduennas, a distance of seven leagues, is tolerably good, but the country is thinly peopled. Fuentiduennas is a large village, in every part of which poverty and idleness are too conspicuous. There is not so much as a tree or a blade of grass; not a single inhabitant who seems to taste the happiness of existence. Three leagues farther on, I found the large town of Tarancon, which contains about a thousand houses, and where several roads cross each other. I proceeded by that which leads to Villa-Rubio, at the distance of a league from which I discovered the castle of Ucles. This mansion rather resembles the habitation of some subaltern tyrant, in the ages of the feudal system, than the peaceful abode of a religious society. It was, no doubt, formerly one of the fortified places which the knights of the order of Saint James had built to defend

VOL. II. T them-

themselves from the incursions of the Moors, and the edifice still remains, though no longer necessary for the purpose for which it was originally designed.

I passed the night in the town of Saylices. The next day I found, at some distance from it, other vestiges of the residence of the Moors. These were the remains of an old entrenchment situated upon an eminence. I remarked, that in places where the little inclination of the slope rendered the approach more easy, the traces of a large ditch were still visible. I afterwards passed through two agreeable villages, Montalva and El Congosto, before I changed horses at Villar del Saz. The latter village is three leagues from Olivarez, and the country round it uneven and but little cultivated. There are some vineyards in the neighbourhood of Olivarez, the situation of which is highly agreeable; and which are shut in by a chain of hills almost circular.

Bonache

Bonache is also three leagues from Olivarez, and from the former to the town of Campillo, the bounds of my second day's journey, the distance is five leagues. This last stage appeared to me very incommodious. Continued rain, the briskness of my horse, which seemed to enjoy my fatigue, a road full of stones and presenting on every side sterility and depopulation, all contributed to put me out of humour; the cheerfulness of my guide, and his rustic songs, were not sufficient to smooth my brow. This however became serene, when after having been some minutes in the inn, I cast my eyes upon the innkeeper and his wife. They looked at me with a kind of concern, which, perhaps, was rather the effect of curiosity than compassion. Their attention was more marked than that commonly found in Spanish inns. They appeared to be in easy circumstances and happy in their situation, and it is in more elevated classes only that these two advantages contract and debase the mind; in those

in which luxury and the abuse of civilisation have not changed the nature of man, he is better and more amiable, in proportion as he is happier. Opulence renders the possessor pensive and little communicative. Moderate independence banishes care, and disposes the mind to joy and beneficence. This is what I thought I discovered in the humble fireside of our village society, which, after a frugal supper, I left, enjoying the music of a guitar, and went to seek repose, then more precious to me than pleasure.

Early the next morning it was necessary to quit the downy pillow fatigue had rendered so delicious. Before five o'clock I was on the road to Villargordo, the difficulties of which I shall for a long time remember. I had been inclined to continue my journey the evening before, but the frightful description given me of what I was to encounter, determined me to wait at Campillo the return of day-light, and I had reason to
be

be satisfied with the delay. A great part of the road lies over the summits of mountains, and consists in paths in which two men cannot walk a-breast, without one of them running the risk of being precipitated by the first false step into a profound abyss. After having thus stumbled for some hours over pieces of rock, and against the roots of trees, across a wild and uncultivated country, I descended for the space of a league by a winding road. Half way down I saw the only pleasing prospect which had presented itself since my departure from Aranjuez. This was the river Cabriel, serpentine in a narrow valley covered with verdure, which it leaves, after having passed under a handsome bridge of one arch, called *El puente de Pajazo*. Near this bridge my guide shewed me the entrance of a vast cavern, formed by Nature, in the side of the enormous mountains I had just passed over. It serves as a retreat to smugglers and robbers. In the bosom of these mountains, in a basin, three leagues from Campillo,

is the royal salt-pit of Minglanilla, the property of the king, and worked by about thirty men.

After passing the bridge of Pajazo I turned to the left, and followed for some time the course of a river considerably wide, but not very deep. I had afterwards to climb a steep hill before I reached Villargordo.

Those who gain a harbour after a shipwreck feel not more pleasure than I did on entering this miserable village in the middle of a wood.

The four next leagues took me to Requena, across a plain which offered a specimen of the fine cultivation of the kingdom of Valencia. The neighbouring rivulets, which water the plain, concur with the goodness of the soil and the mild climate, in producing corn, wine, and pasturage, and especially mulberry trees. The little city of Requena, situated upon the top of a high hill, commands all the neighbouring country.

Wealth

Wealth and activity proclaim there the presence of industry. The number of silk looms, as I have been informed, amounts to nine hundred.

The mountains, over which the road lies from Campillo to Villargordo, are called *Las Contreras*, a name alarming to travellers. Those on the other side of Requena are known by that of *Las Cabrillas*, no doubt on account of the great number of goats which feed upon them. I had been prepared to expect many difficulties in this road; in fact, some parts of it are very rugged, and there are deep crevices in the rock; but this second trial of my patience and courage did not continue long; after travelling three leagues I arrived at a Venta, called *La Venta del Relator*, because it was built for the convenience of travellers by a recorder of the council of finance.

On the other side of Requena I entered the kingdom of Valencia, and from

that moment my curiosity was considerably increased. I was impatient to judge whether or not the description I had heard of that fine country was exaggerated. The steep and rocky entrance at first astonished me. What! exclaimed I, is this the country so renowned for its fine cultivation, fertile plains, and varied productions! However, I observed to the right and left that the mountains were cultivated almost to their summits wherever the nature of the soil permitted them to be so. The people of Valencia, said I, are at least industrious; I find not here the grave indolence of the Castilians. The Valencians are not satisfied with the benefactions Nature of herself offers; with the plough in their hands they wrest them from her upon the summit even of the mountains.

With these reflections I arrived at Chiva, a town distant three leagues from the Venta del Relator. Its environs, for about half a league, began to justify the
the

the description which had been given me. After crossing the dry and barren plains of Castile, almost without a tree, where the grass is without verdure and the lands have no inclosures, I shall leave the reader to judge of the pleasure I felt on finding myself between quick hedges, formed by aloe trees, and serving as enclosures to orchards, pastures and plantations of olive and mulberry trees. The sun was declining, the air mild, and the atmosphere perfectly serene. The exhalations of so many plants, the sweet vapours which rise from cultivated lands after long rains, and the beauty of the different shades of verdure, all contributed to render the landscape enchanting. I was but five leagues from Valencia, and no longer felt fatigue; I could have arrived there the same evening, but nothing pressed me. Besides, why should I deprive myself of the pleasure of seeing the environs of that city? Chiva appearing so agreeable to me, why should I so immediately quit it? I resolved to sleep there, but soon repented of

of my resolution. The inn I alighted at contained all the inconveniences which so much disgust travellers in Spain. My host had neither provisions nor an inclination to procure me any. At another moment I might have given way to my passion. But Nature, who displayed her treasures around me, had prepared me to indulgence, and I forgave the inhabitants in favour of the soil.

On leaving Chiva I found the same profusion and variety of natural riches as at entering it. But at the distance of half a league, an entirely new scene began to abate my enthusiasm. To the fertile plains I had passed over, succeeded vast tracts of country, where, within inclosures of aloe trees, appeared fields of thin corn, and a few olive and mulberry trees scattered at different distances; but a part of the ground was uncleared, or, at least, insusceptible of cultivation.

Two leagues farther on I was well recompensed for this momentary disappointment. From an eminence I discovered Valencia and the Mediterranean. The sun, which had just risen, cast his beams upon the gently agitated surface of that sea. I imagined I saw a vast mirror placed at the extremity of the horizon, and, for the first time, I hailed those waters which, though confined within narrow bounds, have been the theatre of the immortal deeds of the most famous nations of the earth, and of the first efforts of rising commerce, as well as that of numerous combats and shipwrecks. This, said I to myself, is the sea which ancient mythology peopled with so many wonderful beings, to which our ancestors paid the worship only due to the supreme Being, and whose names their posterity cannot pronounce without a kind of respect. Jupiter was born in one of the islands. Latona chose Delos, in which to bring forth the twin deities she bore in her womb. The Titans, crushed by the
thunder

thunder of Olympus, heaved up the mountains of Sicily. Eolus and Vulcan had their empire there, and the infernal rivers their mouths. The amorous Arethusa crossed an arm of this sea to join her waves to those of Alpheus. In less fabulous ages Themistocles there displayed the victorious ensigns of the Greeks, and stained them with the blood of the Persians. The Romans there destroyed the Carthaginian navy. Octavius, triumphant, there defeated Anthony, who, crowding sail upon the waters which had been witnesses to his disaster, hastened to console himself for his disgrace in the arms of the famous queen of Egypt. In more modern ages our ancestors, piously insane, traversed these seas to recover the Holy Land from profanation. Illustrious knights, inheriting their zeal, but capable of purifying it from its extravagance, took up their abode in the island of this sea to which they have given their name, and from this new bulwark of Christianity, combat Barbarians more as enemies

mies to humanity than religion. The count of Toulouse triumphed off Malaga, the Ottoman fleet was destroyed at Chesmai, and the gallant Howe cruised here with as much safety as in one of the bays of Great Britain, and braved his enemies equally formidable by their number and valour.

The recollection of these circumstances contributed to shorten the road, which is tolerably good and even, but which my impatience made me think rather long. At length we arrived (for I had a friend with me) at the villa of the Quarte, a league on this side Valencia, and entered the terrestrial paradise. From this moment nothing is seen but an uninterrupted succession of orchards, parterres, and country-houses; the simplicity of the latter is an agreeable contrast to the luxury of Nature. Half a league farther we entered a second village, of which the continuation joins the suburbs of Valencia.

When

When we entered Quarte, a young man, who waited our arrival, stopped us at the passage, and begged we would get into his carriage. He was the son-in-law of the merchant with whom we were to lodge. We were fatigued, and, as may be supposed, wished to be at the end of our journey. We therefore thanked the young stranger and galloped on. We soon entered the suburbs of Valencia, and found our hasty progress prevented by an elegant Berlin and six horses; a lady and a gentleman were in the carriage. We made way for each other, and the carriage stopped; we were asked, if we were not the travellers expected from Madrid; and on our answering in the affirmative, we were invited to accept the vacant places. We hesitated and stammered out an apology. The lady and gentleman insisted, and we imagined they were detached from the family who expected us; and not thinking to contract a new engagement, got into the
Berlin,

Berlin, and the coachman turned about and drove back.

During the short time we had to remain in the carriage we endeavoured to learn, by indirect questions, who the lady and her husband might be. We arrived without being able to clear up the mystery; and were then ready to think ourselves in fairy-land. We entered an elegant house, crossed several apartments, and were ushered into those destined to our use. Rich hangings and fine glasses dazzled our eyes, so lately only accustomed to the coarse simplicity of the Ventas. We imagined ourselves under the protection of some beneficent genius, which had wrought a miracle in our favour. Our apartments were on the ground floor, with a shaded terrace, decorated and perfumed by groups of orange trees: large quantities of fruit, in three different stages of maturity, weighed down the branches, some of which were still partly in flower. Delighted with so many agreeable objects, we, at length, believed

believed the kingdom of Valencia to be really another valley of Tempe, inhabited, not by gods, but what was much better, by the most hospitable men on earth. Their politeness was so refined as to express a fear, least their eager desire of shewing every attention should be importunate. We were offered refreshments, liberty, repose and every thing most agreeable to travellers thirsty and fatigued, and whose external appearance demanded the immediate assistance of water and clean linen. We confessed that a breakfast of fruit would satisfy the most pressing of our wants. The table was covered in an instant, and the wand of our fairy sent in two great bowls of the finest strawberries we had ever seen. Valencia is the real country, and it was then the season, of this delicious fruit, which in that kingdom unites to the large size of the garden strawberry, the colour and taste of that of the woods. We highly relished our breakfast, and busied ourselves, to no purpose, in conjectures concerning
our

our hosts, we were still incapable of solving the enigma, when the young man, whom we had met upon our first arrival, entered our apartments. He had just learned that we had preferred the lodgings in which we were, to those his mother-in-law had provided for us. He came to reproach us, and to tell those who had out-manœuvred him, that their behaviour was more rude to his relations than flattering to us. The quarrel became warm, we were the innocent cause of it, and knew not which side to take. In a conflict of politeness, to take any part is to run the risk of being accused of ingratitude; we had recourse therefore to an accommodating measure. One of us remained in the enchanted palace, in which all our senses had been so amply gratified, while the other went with the young gentleman to the apartments which had been prepared for us. On the way my friend learned that the husband of our beneficent fairy, was M. V—, a merchant intimately connected with the house of

D—, which without our knowing it, had strongly recommended us to him. His truly polite attention was continued to us during our stay at Valencia, which was six days; every moment was employed to gratify the caprices of our curiosity. His offers of every kind anticipated our desires and imagination. We obey the impulse of gratitude in thus making our public acknowledgments to the amiable couple which so kindly conferred upon us every mark of the most refined hospitality. This family was not the only one in which we were flatteringly received; and I cannot but add, that no people can be more complaisant and delicately attentive to strangers than the citizens of Valencia.

After having refreshed ourselves, and bestowed a little attention upon our persons, we began to wander about Valencia. There is nothing very remarkable within the city. Fine edifices are not numerous. The streets are narrow and crooked; but the whole of this capital,

pital, even in the inside, is generally pleasing. It appears to be very clean and neat, particularly to those who have passed through Castile. Activity and industry are seen in every shape. The streets, indeed, are not paved, but this is because the sweepings, mixed with the filth with which they are strewed for some moments in the day, are carried without the walls to fertilize the adjacent country, and the inhabitants are persuaded, that were they paved the vast orchard by which Valencia is surrounded, would be deprived of one of its chief sources of fertility. Indolence and misery are banished from the city, or dare not shew themselves there. About four thousand silk looms and frames of different dimensions give employment to upwards of twenty thousand of the inhabitants, without enumerating those who exercise professions relative to the manufacture, such as persons who prepare the wood and iron work of so great a number of machines, or spin, wind, or die the silk.

The silk manufacture, however, is not the only source of employment to the Valencians. Their soil produces hemp, and they export of this article, for the king's arsenals, to the amount of a million of piaftres per annum. Their wines and brandies are also exported in great quantities. Formerly they had no other market than England, by the island of Guernsey, &c. and Holland by way of Dunkirk, where the greatest part of the brandies of Valencia were adulterated. Within a few years past these productions have found a new market in Spanish America.

Rice is another source of riches for this fine country, to which it annually produces upwards of a million and a half of piaftres*. Barilla is a production

* The cultivation of it is accompanied with an inconvenience to the salubrity of the country. The waterings, which are favourable to the crops, cover too long the plains where it is grown, and occasion exhalations pernicious to the inhabitants. The new captain-



CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE, WITH THE GIRALDA.

tion peculiar to the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia; it is essential in the making of glass. About a hundred and fifty thousand quintals a year are gathered of it, most of which is sent to France and England, and a small quantity to Genoa and Venice.

Potash, in Spanish called *Sosa*, is a species of barilla employed in the soap manufactories of France and England. The kingdom of Valencia produces about twenty-five thousand quintals a year.

The *Agua-azul* is a third sort of barilla. About four thousand quintals of this are annually produced, most of which is sent to Marseilles.

captain-general of the kingdom of Valencia, the duke de Crillon, who neglects no means of making his administration useful to the country, has noticed this inconvenience, and is endeavouring to remove it, by confining the cultivation of rice to lands near the sea, upon which the waters remain not long, and where pestilential diseases are not the consequence of the fertility they occasion;

Lastly, the *Solicor*, a fourth kind, is produced without cultivation, and is employed in the glass manufactories of France, England and Italy.

When the plant of these four sorts of barilla is well matured, it is left a day or two in heaps to dry; afterwards it is put into a hole without much pressure, three or four feet deep, then set on fire and turned over or stirred up with long poles; and in proportion as the first plants are consumed others are thrown in. When they are all sufficiently burned, the hole is covered, and the barilla left to cool. It is too often adulterated by mixing with it bastard herbs produced in the same soil. The cinders that remain after this burning form lumps, which are exported and used in manufactories.

Potash differs in some respects from barilla, but is applied to much the same uses. It is known by the names of *Sal-sola*, *Salicornia*, and *Glassimon*. The leaf
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is long, narrow, thick, and full of juice like the lesser marine fennel.

Oil is one of the most abundant productions of the kingdom of Valencia, but permission is not given to export it except when the price is very low; this prohibition discourages the cultivation of olive trees which might be considerably increased.

The manner in which the oil of Valencia is prepared, renders it disagreeable to palates accustomed to the oil of Provence. I wished to know the causes of the imperfection; three principal ones were mentioned to me; first, the custom of despoiling the olive trees of their fruit by bruising, instead of gathering it with caution; secondly, keeping the stone too long in the fruit; thirdly, the scarcity of oil mills, which occasions the olives to be left several months in heaps, in which they ferment and rot before the juice is expressed. But these causes alone would

not produce so certain and general an effect, and I am of opinion, this must be attributed to the nature of the soil and the habit and taste of the inhabitants.

The manufactories of soap at Marseilles have confirmed me in this idea: these prefer the oils of Valencia to all others, because they have a natural tartness, independent of their preparation, which gives them a deterfivè quality that the other oils of Europe have not to the same degree. There are, however, certain districts where the olive trees, perhaps more favoured by the soil, produce sweeter oils, the taste of which nearly approaches that of those of Provence; this must in a great measure be attributed to the care the proprietors take in gathering the olives and passing them through the mill whilst they are fresh.

The industry of the people of Valencia derives advantage from all the productions

ductions of their soil. The province contains a kind of earth of which they make squares, or tiles of coloured delph, called *Azulejos*, and which are manufactured at Valencia only. They are used to pave apartments or cover ceilings; the most complicated subjects are painted upon them; such, for instance, as a masked ball, or a bull-fight. Red is the only colour which cannot be fixed on this kind of delph; it vanishes entirely in the baking.

Espart, although one of the commonest productions of the kingdom of Valencia, is of great use to the inhabitants; they make with it mats and cordage. Formerly great quantities of it were sent to the ports of France and the Mediterranean. This exportation was prohibited in 1783. Those to whom it was an article of speculation murmured at the measure, and pretended that all the *espart* produced by the land could not be consumed in the country; and in 1784, several petitions were presented to

to the Spanish ministry to obtain permission to export a considerable portion of it. They endeavoured to prove that this exportation would not be prejudicial to the charitable establishments, in which poor citizens were employed in spinning the production, seeing that much more of it was grown than their industry required. The court of Spain paid some attention to these representations, and permitted certain individuals to export considerable quantities of raw espart; the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, where it is of great use in the dockyards and arsenals, have reaped advantage from the permission.

The Valencians make use even of the aloe plant, which seems, at least in the kingdom of Valencia, to be destined to decorate and enclose landed possessions. They draw from its long and thick leaves a kind of thread of which they make bridle reins.

I carefully examined all these particulars of manufacture and cultivation.

But

But before I fulfilled this object of instructive curiosity, which was the chief motive of my journey, I discharged the first duties of politeness, by visiting the marquis de Croix, captain-general of the province, a venerable old man, who, after having displayed in the vice-royalty of Mexico, all the honour of his character, calmly terminates at Valencia a laborious and useful life, the course of which has not been embittered either by chagrin or remorse*. He inhabited an ancient edifice without the city, called, *El Real*. This part of Valencia has something in

* Since this work was written, the marquis de Croix is dead, and has been succeeded by the duke de Crillon, so much known by the sieges of Mahon and Gibraltar, and in whom the social virtues are united to great military talents. The government of the kingdom of Valencia had been too long given to old general officers, who waited in soft indolence the close of their days. The inhabitants wished for one whose beneficent activity should be directed to the embellishment and prosperity of the country; and such a one they have at length found in the person of the duke de Crillon.

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it majestic. A long vacant space upon which five fine bridges over the Guadalaviar are terminated, runs between the walls of the town and the suburb, of which the Real and the church of the Dominicans nearly form the two extremities. Were the river full, it would be difficult to imagine a finer point of view; but under the walls of Valencia it is a good deal exhausted by the sluices, in its passage, for the purpose of watering and fertilising the plain through which it runs. Thus its benefactions are destructive to itself, and, like the pelican in the fable, it nourishes its progeny at the expence of its own substance. The tribute required from this river, several leagues from its mouth, is received in so uniform a manner as to prevent disputes. It is previously settled, that at such a time of the year, certain persons shall have a right to turn a part of the Guadalaviar to the profit of such and such lands. Those who are interested prepare for the fructifying season; and at the time agreed on, their sluices are opened,
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the ditches round their fields are filled, their olive plants and vineyards are covered with water, and the inundation extends to a considerable distance over the adjoining lands. This great benefit is conferred on all the estates situated in this fine country; and the value of them depends more or less upon the facility they have of enjoying it. The general and periodical watering has undoubtedly great advantages. It maintains verdure and fertility in the soil of this favoured country. It multiplies productions to such a degree as to continually cover the earth with fruits. The mulberry trees are three times despoiled of their leaves; the meadows of trefoil and luzerne are mown eight and ten times a year; and the earth not satisfied with bearing forests of olive and mulberry trees, produces beneath their shade, strawberries, grain and vegetables. But this watering has also a great inconvenience. The artificial fertility bestows not on the plants the substance they receive from Nature alone, when her favours are waited for without soliciting them

them by extraordinary means ; for which reason aliments in this country are much less nourishing than those of Castile. My stomach felt the difference. Our dinners were each a kind of feast, where there was a profusion of meats as well as politeness. I yielded to the excess of the double temptation, and had no reason to repent of my weakness. The abundance of water which changes the nature of the plants, appeared to me to have an effect upon the animal kingdom. Malignity has gone farther, and produced the following Spanish proverb, which I am too grateful and polite to adopt.

En Valencia la carne es hierba, la hierba agua, los hombres mugeres, y las mugeres nada *.

The finest walks of Valencia, the *Alameda*, *Monte Olivite* and the road of *Grao*, a little village half a league from Va-

* In Valencia meat is herbs, herbs are water, men are women, and women nothing.

Valencia, and by the sea side, are upon the banks of the Guadalaviar, ready to finish its course, and render its waters to the Mediterranean. Valencia is less a harbour, than a bad road without anchorage or shelter. Had nature bestowed on this city a better port, it would have been the richest in Spain. Ships seldom approach nearer than half a league to the coast, and those of three masts are seldom seen there. The cargoes of large vessels which arrive within sight of Valencia, are put into barks, which are rowed almost to the shore, and afterwards towed by oxen until they are out of the water; for not before is the cargo begun to be unloaded. On account of these obstacles, the port of Valencia is but little frequented. The first time I visited it, there were but from twenty to thirty vessels of every different size. In general, the coast of Valencia has not one good harbour*. From

* It has for some time been in contemplation to improve the harbour of Culleras, a few leagues to the

the mouth of the Ebro, to Carthagena which belongs to the kingdom of Murcia, the roads of Alicant and Santa-Pola are the only places where the anchoring is sufficiently safe. Even ships of war may anchor there; but these never enter either of these roads, except in cases of necessity. The whole coast of the kingdom of Valencia is besides low, dangerous and exposed to winds, especially those from the east.

Upon this coast, a little to the south of Alicant, is a new establishment, which should have done honour to the administration of the count d'Aranda, but it appears to have deceived his expectations. A great number of Spanish slaves

the south of Valencia. Its communication with the lake of Albufera, and a canal dug from this lake to the center of the capital, would make amends for what nature has refused it. If this project, of which the plans and estimates are compleated, be adopted by the Spanish ministry, the execution of it will be an additional favour the city of Valencia will owe to the duke de Crillon.

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languished in the chains of the Algerines in the little island of Tabarca. The king of Spain, moved by their complaints, laid before him by the Count de Aranda, ransomed these unhappy men, and found them an asylum in a little desert island on the coast of Alicant, which upon that occasion was called, *Nueva Tabarca*, but it is feared this establishment, somewhat expensive, and besides, on a barren rock, will never prosper. Nature, by refusing it wood, stone, earth and water, seems to have condemned it to remain desert.—But to return to the Grao of Valencia. It is mostly inhabited by sea-faring persons. The road to it is, like all the environs of Valencia, for three or four leagues round it, bordered with orchards, which wear an appearance of the highest cultivation. The situation in which the whole of the capital, and the delightful enclosure is embraced in one point of view, is from the top of a tower called *Miquelet*, near the cathedral. Valencia, seen from this elevation, seems not to be more than

a league in circumference. It is, however, said to contain from ninety to a hundred thousand inhabitants. The streets are narrow, the squares not spacious, and men, as in most manufacturing cities, are crowded together. The eye is never satisfied with viewing the prospect from the top of the tower. From this situation Valencia seems built in the middle of a great orchard, in which are dispersed a vast number of villages, that appear like a continuation of the suburbs of the city. From one part of the tower we have an extensive prospect of the sea, and the humble stream of the Guadalaviar, after having passed under the five bridges, runs to the right of the Grao, and is lost in the Mediterranean. Near the mouth of this river we discover the Albufera, a lake which empties itself into the sea by a very narrow channel *. The lake is so near to

* This is the lake spoken of in the preceding note, and which the duke de Crillon wishes to render useful in future to the navigation and commerce of the city of Valencia, as it has hitherto conducted to the pleasures of the inhabitants.

the Mediterranean, that in the map it appears like a bay of which the channel is the entrance; but the taste of its waters, and their course towards the sea, leave no doubt of its being a lake. The banks are covered with game and aquatic birds; and fishing and shooting upon the Albufera are the most agreeable recreations of the people of Valencia.

The tower, from the top of which this fine landscape is discovered, is remarkable for nothing but its loftiness, and by this it is prejudicial to the cathedral, which it seems to crush by its massy bulk. This edifice, which has been too much extolled, has nothing very grand in its appearance. The inside is more pleasing than majestic. The body of the building is not sufficiently elevated, and the walls, ornamented with gilt stucco compartments, seem rather those of a museum than a temple. It contains some valuable paintings, particularly those of Joanes, who holds a distinguished rank among painters of the se-

cond order. Some enthusiastic admirers of this artist (Spaniards, as it may naturally be supposed) have extolled him as the equal of Raphael. He is, in truth, like the prince of painters, judicious and correct; but how inferior is he to him in dignity and gracefulness! The most remarkable of his paintings is a baptism of Christ, which must certainly give pleasure to those who can pardon the colouring, which the dampness of the place has, perhaps, considerably injured.

The doors of the great altar, ornamented with admired paintings, must not be forgotten in the description of the cathedral of Valencia. Philip V. to whom it was remarked that the altar was of massy silver, replied that the doors by which it is shut in, appeared to him much more precious. The paintings are supposed to be by Leonardo de Vinci, or at least of his school.

I also

I also paid a visit to the other productions of the fine arts in the different edifices of Valencia, especially those in the college *del Patriarca*, which I had heard much praised. I found there the famous painting of the Last Supper by Rivalta, placed over the great altar, to see which the painter Carducho, undertook a journey to Valencia. Except this piece, there is nothing remarkable in the church of the Patriarch. It is indeed beautiful in its simplicity. Enormous quantities of tapers and incense are consumed there. The most sensible effects of this profusion is the dirtiness, in consequence of so much smoke, of the walls and sacred ornaments of the church. It contains a rich shrine, which is shewn with much ceremony to the curious, and even to those who are not so. It was not possible to escape the enumeration of the much more disgusting than venerable treasures it contains. We were obliged to hear, on our knees, from a young clerk, the recital of the list of bones, jaws, skulls and other parts of the human

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body,

body, which devotion has removed from the tomb to become ornaments to the altar. From motives of politeness, we submitted to undergo this painful ceremony, and noted it in our travelling journal, to preserve from it others who, in future, may visit the college of the Patriarch.

I observed, in several other churches, paintings, by Joanes, Rivalta and Orrente, the three artists of Valencia who have acquired the greatest celebrity. I was not much surprised to find the best pieces of Victoria and Vergara, whom the Spaniards highly extol, feeble and destitute of expression. I was, however, tolerably satisfied with the paintings in fresco, with which Palomino, the same who wrote the history of the painters of Spain, has decorated the ceiling of *San Juan del Mercado*, and that of *Nuestra Senora de los Desamparados*.

Before I conclude what I have to say, relative to the sacred edifices of Valencia,

cia, I must not omit to mention the *Temple*, a church entirely modern, and built in a simple and noble taste. I saw there two small paintings by Joanes, which gave me much pleasure; one of these is a Last Supper in the manner of Vandyk, and the other a Carrying of the Cross. The latter resembles considerably the painting by Raphael, known by the name of *Pasmo de Sicilia*. The resemblance confirmed what had been told me, that Joanes had taken that painter for his model.

But what engaged my attention still more than the productions of the fine arts, were the manufactures of silk which give Valencia its reputation, and contribute to render that city flourishing. I followed the works from the cultivation of the mulberry tree to the finishing of the richest silks; and shall endeavour to give a successive description of them.

Spain, the kingdom of Valencia in particular, might have great quantities

of silk to export after supplying all the manufactures of the nation. Government seems not convinced of this truth, because it creates frequent obstacles to the exportation of silk, and when this is permitted, the duties are considerable. They amount to nine reals a quartillo, about two livres seven sols (two shillings) the pound of Valencia, which is but twelve ounces, and at the most common price is worth about fifteen livres (twelve and sixpence) raw, (*en rama*). In bad years, as in 1784, it has risen to eighty reals, or twenty livres (sixteen shillings and eightpence). There was in that year such a want of silk, that the manufacturers of Valencia asked Government permission to import to Spain two hundred thousand pound weight of French and Italian silk, duty free. In common years the pound of raw silk costs eight reals, the throwing, and dying green, blue, and other common colours; so that a pound of silk, in a state to be employed, comes to about seventy-one reals, or seventeen or eighteen livres (fifteen shillings).

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It may naturally be supposed the price varies with circumstances. One of those which has the most influence is the greater or lesser plenty of mulberry leaves. These precious trees are very numerous in the plain of Valencia, and are all of the white kind (*moreras*). This distinction, which in France would be superfluous, is not so in Spain, where, in some provinces, as the kingdom of Granada for instance, the leaves of the black mulberry tree (*morales*) serve to feed the silk worms, and produce almost as fine silk as that which comes from the white ones.

These leaves are sold by the load (*carga*) of ten arrobas; the arroba of Valencia, which is about twenty-seven French pounds, cost, in 1783, about thirty-six sols tournois (eighteen pence).

The leaves of the mulberry tree are gathered once, twice, and at most three times a year; but it seldom happens that
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the two last gatherings are either so abundant or of so good a quality as the first. The season for gathering lasts almost the whole year, and the trees are successively deprived of their leaves, in proportion to the consumption the silk worms make of the latter, and which gradually increases until the moment of their beginning to form their balls. The leaves only of the mulberry tree are plucked or beat off, the branches are spared as much as possible. Thus despoiled of its verdure, in the middle of the fine season of the year, and during the richest vegetation, it resembles trees withered upon their roots. The quantity of naked trunks which seem to be struck with sterility, and increase in number as the season advances, disfigures the plains, which in other respects are so verdant and fertile. The effect is still more disagreeable when the mulberry trees are pruned or lopped, and wholly deprived of their branches; an operation which must be performed at least every three years.

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The kingdom of Valencia has produced, in ten years, six millions of pounds weight of silk, which makes six hundred thousand pounds annually; and as all Spain produces only a million of pounds weight per annum, it appears that the kingdom of Valencia alone furnishes more than half of the general produce. The silk of Valencia is the finest in Spain, and in this respect to be compared to the best in Europe; but the spinning is still imperfect, because there are not, as in France and other kingdoms, houses where the spinners are assembled, and superintended by an inspector, who takes care that all the silks are uniformly spun. In Valencia the spinning is divided among thousands of hands; these put six, seven, eight and more ends in a thread which should have a determined number; hence the inequalities in the tissues in which these silks are employed; on which account those we receive from Spain are never made use of in any fine work. The silk used in our high priced tissues comes
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from Piedmont and our southern provinces. For a few years past there has been less demand in France for the silks of Valencia; the repeated prohibitions of their exportation has increased the cultivation of the mulberry trees in Languedoc. The peasants, seeing the profits these trees would produce, have preferred them to others, and multiplied them prodigiously, so that in 1783, the silk in France was less dear than that of Valencia bought on the spot, deducting the duties with which the exportation is charged. A merchant of my acquaintance, who at this time had the privilege of exporting, duty-free, a hundred thousand pounds weight a year, for six years successively, could not dispose of that quantity in France in the course of the year 1783. Spain might, perhaps, supply the want of this market by increasing the number of her looms, which she does every day, and sending to her American colonies greater quantities of the produce of her industry; but her stuffs cannot be improved but in
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proportion to the sale she can obtain for them in foreign countries, where the taste of the consumers will concur in forming that of the manufacturers.

The silks of the kingdom of Valencia are estimated, *communibus annis*, at six or seven millions of piaftres (from eight to nine hundred thousand pounds sterling). At the time I was in Spain it employed not half this quantity, although there were in the capital near four thousand looms. The rest are sent out of the kingdom in spite of prohibitions, either to France by Barcelona, or to Portugal by Seville and Estramadura. At present more silk must remain in Spain; serious measures have been taken to encourage the industry which is exercised in the manufacture of them. Silk looms had been established in Catalovia, in the kingdom of Granada, Cordova, Seville, &c. in which were made handkerchiefs, ribbons, and various plain silks in quantities nearly sufficient to the national consumption. The French manufactures
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of Languedoc, however, still found a considerable market among the Spaniards. The Spanish government in the regulation of 1778 had excluded silk stockings only from foreign merchandize sent to the colonies. But as these continue to be sent into Spain, the law was easily eluded; it was only necessary to affix to French silk stockings the mark of one of the Spanish manufactories. Interest invited to this fraud; it would have required too much vigilance, and even a species of inquisition, to have prevented it. Government endeavoured to render it useless by issuing, in 1785, an absolute prohibition of these articles from France; which, added to the establishment of a great number of new frames, has produced almost a total stagnation in the sales which the manufactures of Languedoc had in Spain.—But to return to the manufactures of Valencia.

There is not in this city any edifice wherein all the operations through which

which silk passes are performed. Persons who wish to see them successively must go from one workshop to another. This I did, conducted by a manufacturer, equally obliging and intelligent, named Don Manuel Foz, who had travelled a long time to acquire knowledge in the manufacture of silks, and amongst other discoveries, brought from Constantinople the secret of watering them. As a recompence for his zeal he was made inspector of all the manufactures of Valencia.

There are but few merchants and tradesmen in Valencia who are not more or less interested in the silk manufacture; this is a kind of point of honour among them. Some have but four or five looms or frames, others several hundreds.

The first operation to be performed after the worm has finished its ingenious cell, is to destroy it before it breaks through its own work to enter on a
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new state of existence. To this effect the balls are thrown into an oven moderately heated ; when the worm is killed they may be kept unspun as long as may be thought proper.

To despoil them of the net-work in which they are enveloped, they are thrown into hot water ; women then select, with astonishing facility and quickness, the threads of several balls, and join and wind them thus united upon quills or bobbins. On the make of these quills depends the greater or lesser perfection in the winding of the silk. Those still made use of in Spain are very imperfect, as I shall hereafter explain.

It must first be observed, that the threads of silk ought to be drawn from four balls at least, and even in this case it is only fit for slight silks, ribbons and taffeties. Indeed, I saw a skein which I was told was made from but two balls ; but so delicate a silk thread cannot be applied to any use. The threads are
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commonly taken from seven or eight balls, and afterwards doubled to form one fit for use in the loom or frame.

The contexture is, as every one knows, composed of two distinct parts, the west and the chain. The west is what the shuttle draws from one side of the loom to the other, and leaves interwoven between the two plains formed by the chain. The west being more worked than the chain must necessarily have a greater consistence. To this effect the two threads of which it is composed are first twisted separately and afterwards together; but for the chain the second operation is sufficient. From this difference, the thread of the west, viewed through a microscope, appears indented, or uneven, like a cable; whereas that of the chain is smooth and flat, and consequently proper to be exposed to the light, that is to receive the brilliant lustre which is so beautiful in silks.

But their beauty depends more particularly upon the manner in which the filk is reeled or wound from the ball. This first winding is performed in three different ways, according to the quills employed in it. That which is constantly practised in Spain has this defect; the little threads of six, seven or eight balls are unwound at a time, from one single thread, and are wound on a small spindle, without rubbing against each other, which would lay the little hairs that render them rough; whence it results that the thread of filk thus formed easily frays. In the Piedmont manner of winding, each thread is joined to another, and these are never separated until they have been twisted round each other four or five times.

The third manner, that of Vaucanson, is still an improvement upon the latter. Upon the quill or bobbin which he invented, the two threads of filk, after their first twisting, join a second time,

time, for the same purpose. This operation is called the *double crossing*.

If these threads, thus upon the spindles, be destined to the west, they are placed perpendicularly upon a machine of several stories, where they are separately twisted; they are carried hence to another machine, where they are twisted together, after which they are fit to be used in the loom. Those for the chain, as I have before observed, are not twisted until they have been joined together. These machines, so precious to the arts, which save the labour of so many hands, are known at Valencia, and Talavera de la Reyna. I had already seen in Talavera, a single wheel from which a thousand of these little spindles upon which the twisted silk threads are wound, receive their motion; but those I saw at Valencia were less, because this city contains not, like Talavera, a royal manufactory confined to one edifice. Each manufacturer there finds, divided into different quarters, workmen and machines

necessary to his operations, and prefers those most fit for the purpose.

Nothing is more simple than the management of these twisting machines when the wheel has put them in motion. Women and children guide the operation of the little perpendicular spindles; the moment they meet any obstacle, a touch with the finger sets them again at liberty. If one of the threads break, the damage is replaced in the twinkling of an eye; their fingers, from long exercise, are astonishingly expert in the work, seize the two ends with a quickness bordering upon prodigy, unite them by an imperceptible knot, and the spindle immediately regains its motion with the rest.

The thread of silk, before it is twisted double, undergoes an operation which I must not omit to mention. Whilst it is in skeins, it is spread over a wide and shallow caldron, in which several viscid ingredients are boiling; and the steam
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from which prepares the threads to adhere to each other. This operation is called, by the French manufacturers, making the threads, *passer a la brève*.

The skeins are carried hence to the twisting machine. The silk, after coming from this operation, is called *organfin*: it is in this state only that it can be brought from Piedmont, where the twisting was better performed than elsewhere, until it was improved by Vaucanson*. This able mechanic has united all the operations performed in the manufacture of silk. His method is exclusively followed at Lyons: but his quills for double crossing can serve only for the silk of the country, because foreign silk, which for the most part is used in these manufactures, to be exported must be reduced to *organfin*.

* It must be remarked, that the silk wound and twisted after the manner of Vaucanson, forms a texture more even, and one third stronger than the textures of the ordinary silk.

Spain has in this respect a great advantage over manufacturing nations; she has more silk than she can employ, and might manufacture it in the best manner possible, yet still she continues her defective method. Government has endeavoured to employ the only means capable of producing a change of this kind; means which are slow but persuasive. In 1781, a French merchant established at Madrid, engaged with the count of Florida Blanca, to furnish, first to the manufactures of the kingdom of Mercia (the country of the Spanish minister) afterwards to those of Valencia, and successively to others as they should require it, a hundred reels or frames to wind the silk, according to the manner of Vaucanson; and in return the count granted the merchant the privilege of exporting, duty-free, six hundred thousand pound weight of silk in six years. This measure may, however, be ineffectual for some time from the idleness of the Spanish manufacturers, who will not willingly make use of a closer and finer silk

filk, because it would be necessary to weave it with greater care, and because the thread of this filk contains three ends instead of two, by which means the labour is increased without a proportionable increase of profit; for which reason French hands were obliged to be employed in the first experiments of this kind.

Their success cannot be expected to be great, if we may judge by a manufacture established a few years since at La Milanesa, a league from Valencia, by an intelligent manufacturer of the name of Payessa. He introduced there the method of Vaucanson; and, when I visited his manufactory, he had no prospect of recovering what he had advanced to form it. He scarcely ever employed two hundred persons; these were confined to winding and reeling the filk, to bring it to the state in which it is called *organfin*; and, thus prepared, it was from fifty to sixty reals a pound dearer than that which was prepared ac-

according to the Spanish method, and consequently found but little sale.

I shall not enter into a detail of the dying or manufacturing of silks. The first is easily conceived; the other difficult to comprehend, and much more so to explain without the assistance of plates. I shall only observe, with respect to the first, that all the silks are dyed in the skein, and immediately afterwards put upon the loom. It sometimes happens that they are dyed in the piece, but this is only when they are stained, or when the dying in the skein has not well succeeded. When I was at Valencia there were a hundred and seventeen master dyers, but some of them wanted business.

The manufactures in which the people of Valencia succeed best, are mostly those of plain silks: fine damasks worked with large flowers, to hang apartments, are made there in great perfection; but, in general, these undertakings depend
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upon the orders from the court, the capital and the provinces. The patterns of France are followed as closely as possible through all their variations, and those invented in Spain, more or less, resemble the former. The academy of fine arts at Valencia, however, is earnestly endeavouring to encourage pattern-drawers; and for this purpose, there is a school which has already produced several of distinguished abilities; among others a young man of the name of Ferrers, who died a little before my arrival at Valencia, some of whose groups of flowers I saw and could not but greatly admire.

But what the Valencians excel most in is the art of watering the silks (*dar las aguas*); which M. Foz has brought to the greatest perfection. He very clearly explained to me the whole of this operation, which consists in rolling a cylinder upon the silk intended to be watered: the cylinder is pressed by an enormous weight moved by a great round stone,

stone, which draws a lever in its circular motion; the silk is folded in the manner of an outer lattice window-shutter when it is shut, and these folds must be frequently varied that the undulations may be equally divided. M. Foz observed, that the distribution and form of these were almost the effect of chance; but he proved that they might, in some measure, be influenced by wetting the silk in certain places, and in a particular manner; and in this consists the secret of which he alone is the possessor in Spain. The excellence of his method is proved by the beauty of the waterings which come from his presses: he enabled me to judge of it by comparing the blue ribbons of the order of Charles III. watered by him, with those of the order of the Holy Ghost; I was obliged to confess that the latter gained nothing by the comparison.

The Exchange of Valencia is one of the remarkable edifices of that capital. Here the merchants, traders and manufacturers

facturers assemble to learn the daily price of silks, as in other places of the price of stocks.

Valencia has also had, for a few years past, a patriotic society, the principal cares of which are directed to the improvement of the cultivation of mulberry trees, and the quality of silks: it has already produced several volumes of memoirs full of useful papers. The encouragement it gives to arts is not confined to the manufacture of silk. Towards the end of the year 1786, it gave a premium to the inventor of a new frame for the manufacture of silk, cotton, and worsted stockings at less expence than according to the common method; as also a second premium to a dyer for the invention of a simple and ingenious machine, which, with great facility, reduced to powder the wood of Brazil and Campeachy; and a third to the inventor of a machine for dressing flax. It is particularly in countries which are not populous, and where the arts

arts are as yet in their infancy, that it is especially useful to save labour, by simplifying the workmanship of manufactures.

At Valencia there is a public library; that of the archbishop's palace; it appeared to me to be but little frequented. Manufacturing cities seldom abound in lovers of science, and the belles lettres; the cultivation of these supposes leisure; useful arts require a continued assiduity. Valencia, however, is the country of Gregory Mayans, who died a few years ago, leaving behind him a reputation of vast erudition, which extends beyond the limits of Spain, and to which M. de Voltaire did not disdain to do justice on various occasions. The library of the episcopal palace contains a collection of statues and antique busts, collected by the nephew of the late archbishop. The scruples of the present prelate have diminished the value of the collection by mutilating some of these monuments. The austere morality of the archbishop
has

has deprived this capital of all public amusements. The theatre of Saragossa having been burned a few years ago, the prelate, a declared enemy to all profane pleasures, obtained a promise from the court that the representations of the drama should never more pollute his see. The people of Valencia are displeased with him; and, according to what I heard of his character, he appeared not to me to join to the advantage of edifying by his virtues the more rare talent of rendering them beloved.

My speculations and amusements were not confined to this capital; I visited a part of its environs. The most agreeable of my excursions was to the charming retreat of a canon of the cathedral, Don Pedro Mayoral. This ecclesiastic, a well informed man, and simple in his manners, has conciliated a philosophical life with the enjoyments of the beauties of Nature that surround his habitation, which is situated in the village of Benimamet, half a league from Valencia,

lencia, upon an eminence, in the middle of a garden, in which the orange and lemon trees perfume the purest air. The verdure of the walks, the variety of the prospects, and the varied fertility on every side, make it a most delicious abode. The reception I there met with added to the charms of the place. Our dispositions naturally take a tincture of the objects by which we are surrounded. How is it possible to perceive a contracted brow in the midst of a beautiful landscape, and in the most temperate climate? The canon exhibited, both in his mind and person, the reflection of that serenity which reigned around him. In imitation of Nature, which had abundantly bestowed upon him her gifts, he was profuse in his polite attentions; he complaisantly accompanied me to view the treasures of his garden, and would not be satisfied with confining my enjoyment of them to bare contemplation. He had prepared a sumptuous collation, of which the principal riches were produced by this land of promise. Among other foreign

reign trees, the cultivation of which occupied his leisure, he shewed me that which produces the *chirimoya*, the American fruit so much extolled for its fine flavour, and which, it is said, has never succeeded in Europe. He proved to me the contrary; the trees had still some remains of fruit, with which he gratified my curiosity. The *chirimoya*, which was as big as a middling pear, was divided into eight or ten parts, that each of the guests might taste it. The pulp is whitish, and contains five or six flat black kernels; its taste resembles those of an apple, butter and a nut united; but with this there is a certain insipidity which, if the fruit merits its reputation, it certainly has not in its native soil.

Benimamet is distant a quarter of a league from Burjasot, another village which stands on higher ground, and in the church of which lies interred Mademoiselle l'Advenant, a celebrated actress, the *le Couvreur* of Spain *, but whose remains

* Mademoiselle le Couvreur, a famous tragic actress in France, who died a few years ago.

were

were not so severely treated as those of the French Melpomene. At Burjasot I was shewn, as some of the curiosities of the country, the *Sichas*, or *Silhos*, which are large holes, dug vertically, and lined with hewn stone. They are the work of the Moors, who used in them to store their grain. The modern inhabitants of Valencia employ them for the same purpose. I had the curiosity to descend the deepest of these Silhos, but had nearly found reason to repent of my courage. The descent was easily enough effected with my feet in a straw basket, and my hands fixed to a cord which was gradually let down. I got to the bottom without effort or danger; but when I was to re-ascend, though my heart did not fail me, my head was ready to turn. I had no sooner been raised about thirty feet, than I had nearly quitted my hold; happily I cried out in time to be let easily down again. Had not my cries, which announced fear on my part, and caused it in those whom I had left above, been immediately complied with, most probably

bably I should never have written an account of my journey : but perhaps I ought to ask, would this have been a loss to the public ? As soon as I found myself at the bottom, a robust and experienced waggoner came down and fastening me to his girdle by the cord which had nearly been fatal to me, accompanied me in my perpendicular ascent. I made it with as much confidence as safety ; and arriving like truth from the bottom of my well, I remarked in the faces of those who had assisted me, more fear than I myself had felt.

Another interesting excursion which I made from Valencia was to Murviedro. This city is built upon a part of the ground upon which old Saguntum formerly stood.

Murviedro is distant four leagues from Valencia, upon the road to Barcelona. This road crosses one of the most fertile and variegated districts in the kingdom of Valencia. I stopped twice by the

way ; once to see San Miguel de los Reyes, a convent of Franciscans, the cloisters of which greatly resemble those of the Escorial, and appear to have had the same architect ; and afterwards to visit the Carthusian monastery of Porta Coeli, one of the three in the environs of Madrid. The predilection of the Carthusian monks, for this country, would alone be sufficient to give an idea of its beauty and fertility. Nothing can be more delightful than the situation of the Carthusian monastery I visited. Every thing breaths abundance, and preserves a calm in the mind. It is impossible to consider as the God of vengeance, whose anger is to be appeased by austerity and self-denial, the Supreme Being who pours down his benefactions in such profusion around this habitation. Those who reside in it, seem only to be inspired with peaceful sentiments. I entered some of their cells, which are remarkable for their neatness and elegant simplicity ; it appeared to me that a good conscience, enjoying its own purity, ought rather to reside

reside there than repentance drinking her own tears. I visited the church-yard of the monks; modestly surrounded by palm trees, which shade their tombs; while rose bushes are planted on the outside as if they were intended to prevent their remains from infecting the air which is respired in this peaceful asylum. I regretted that, as in this place, death was not every where presented under less hideous forms, and deprived of the images which render it so frightful. Why, said I to myself, should this inevitable passage be strewn over with funereal objects and surrounded with horrors? Why should we not rather aid mortals to pass through it, if not with joy, at least with serenity? Far then be removed from the bed of death every thing which may terrify survivors! Let us enjoy without excess, and consequently without remorse, the good things which the earth produces; and when the organized dust, which for a few moments is animated by the breath of life, is required of us by that common mother of mankind, let it serve

to fertilise her entrails, and, if it be possible, to beautify her surface.

With these reflections I set off to Murviedro. Two leagues from it, the castles by which it is commanded, presented themselves to view. Having Livy in my pocket, I sought for the description of the famous siege the citizens of Saguntum sustained against Hannibal. I doubted not but the walls were the remains of the ramparts from which these courageous people so long repelled the Carthaginian hero. I afterwards learned that these castles were the work of the Moors. They had built upon the heights on which they are situated, seven fortresses that communicated with each other by subterraneous passages, some of which are still almost entire. It appears that the ground upon which they stand was not a part of old Saguntum, and that this city, built half way up the eminence, extended on the other side into the plain approaching the sea. Livy says, it was not a thousand paces from it : if he was exact in
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his calculation, the opinion I adopted is well founded: for in that case Saguntum must have extended far beyond the present confines of Murviedro, which is at the distance of a league from the sea. In support of this opinion it was remarked to me, that at the foot of the eminence many Carthaginian and Roman antiquities had been discovered. We still find, in Murviedro, stones with Phœnician or Latin inscriptions, and the latter are numerous. Some of them are inserted in the walls; and there are five of them, remarkably well preserved, to be seen in the walls of a church. Those on the side of the mountain appear to have been unintentionally carried thither by the Moors, in common with other stones for building. Thus, in the walls of their ancient fortresses, we find a statue of white marble without a head, and some stones with inscriptions placed in an inverted position by the hands of ignorance.

I could not but walk with a kind of reverence over this ground, trodden in turns by Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, Moors and Spaniards, all of whom had here distinguished themselves either by their valour or their industry. I compared the different states through which it had passed under these different masters. It has undoubtedly been the scene of greater splendor and magnificence, but are not the riches of Nature with which it is covered, the olive and mulberry trees, the vines, the verdure which decorates it from the confines of Murviedro to the sea, and on every other side as far as the eye can reach, with the industry of the inhabitants which converts all these productions into profit, as valuable in the eye of the philosopher as the exploits of the warlike inhabitants of Saguntum, and the magnificence which the Romans formerly displayed within its walls? For the city having been punished for its brave defence by a total destruction, was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans, who made it one of their *municipia*, and one of the
the

the most splendid cities they possessed out of Italy. At this period was erected the monument of which the mutilated remains still prove the power and opulence of Saguntum during the last ages of the Roman republic. Among other temples there was one consecrated to Bacchus, some remains of which are seen to the left, when, returning from Valencia, we arrive at the entrance of Murviedro. The mosaïc pavement was preserved until the present century: but the negligence of those to whom the care of it was entrusted, had nearly suffered this precious relic of antiquity to be lost to the world, when what remained of it was removed to the library of the archbishop, where it is still to be seen.

The foundation of the ancient Circus of Saguntum is still discoverable, upon which walls, serving as an inclosure to a long continuation of orchards, have been built. A part of it yet remains above ground, in which the masonry of the Romans is clearly discernible. This Circus,

as it is easy to perceive, was adjoining to a small river, which was the chord of the segment formed by the Circus. The bed only of the river now remains. It cannot be doubted but that, when the mock sea fights, called *Naumachiae*, were here exhibited, this bed was filled by the tributes of neighbouring canals which still exist.

But of all that remains of old Saguntum, nothing is in so good preservation as the theatre. The examination of this noble monument cannot but be extremely pleasing to a real lover of antiquity. My guide was the curate of one of the churches of Murviedro, a man equally polite and well informed on the subject in question. He acknowledged, that all he was going to advance was taken from a dissertation by a learned Spanish Dean of the last century, named *Martí*. Mr. Peyron has given an extract of this performance in his *Essais sur l'Espagne*, and I must refer those who wish to form an accurate idea of an ancient Roman theatre

theatre to the extract. I shall confine myself to the following particulars, which appeared to me the most interesting:

The theatre is sufficiently well preserved for us plainly to distinguish the manner in which the spectators were distributed at these dramatic representations. The different seats which the citizens occupied, each class according to its rank, are distinctly seen. At the bottom, in the place of our orchestra are the seats for the magistrates; next those for the equestrian order, and last of all those for the body of the people. The two door ways at which the magistrates entered still remain; also two higher up, exclusively reserved for the equestrian order; and almost at the top of the amphitheatre, which continues without interruption from top to bottom, the two galleries by which the multitude withdrew, and for that reason, called by the ancients, *vomitoria*; lastly, the four or five highest rows of seats were

were destined to lictors and courtesans, who entered without either door or staircase. As this theatre is built on the declivity of a mountain, the ground rises in proportion with the benches ; so that on which ever side the people entered they found themselves almost on a level with the place they were to occupy. Those of the lictors and courtesans are still in good preservation ; and the semicircular roof of the whole edifice is entire. On the outside, a part of the plinth which terminates it yet remains, as also the projecting stones, in which were inserted the bars to which was fastened the great curtain, sufficiently large to cover the whole assembly, and drawn to keep off rain and the sun ; for except in this case the whole audience was exposed to the open air. The care of the Romans to avoid tumult, either on entering the theatre or quitting it, and every kind of accident, appears to have been admirable. It is manifest that in such a theatre, all of stone, without a foot of timber, accidents from fire were not to be feared.

We

We have just seen that the whole assembly was seated and defended from the injuries of the air. Every means was taken to prevent disorder. The places of the judges are clearly discernible towards the right side of the amphitheatre. If any turbulent spectator drew upon himself their animadversion, they had lictors at hand to seize him; these conducted him into a private chamber, between which and the judges seats there was a communication by a little staircase; he was there interrogated, and, if found culpable, was confined in a prison, under the chamber, until the exhibition was concluded.

I did not take the dimensions of this noble monument; but my guide supposed it, according to the estimate of dean Marti, capable of containing nine thousand persons; and this appeared to me credible. But what seemed to me but little so was, that the actors should, in the open air, have been able to make themselves heard by so numerous an audi-

audience. I wished to assure myself of this, and placing a boy where the stage formerly was, but of which no traces remain, whilst I was at the top of the amphitheatre, made him repeat phrases, of which I lost not a word. I have said no traces of the stage remain; in fact, beyond the amphitheatre, of which some of the benches towards the center are sensibly decayed, scarcely any vestiges of the place occupied by the actors are to be found. The ground about the theatre offers nothing but a few trees and decayed buildings. The front of the ancient stage, which, in our modern theatres, may be compared to the space in which the foot-lights are placed, has been converted into an alley of mulberry trees; and ropes are now made on that ground where formerly the verses of Terence were recited to a Roman audience. This comparison caused me to reflect for an instant on the vicissitude of human affairs: man, said I, seems to wish to recompence himself for the frailty and shortness of his existence

istence by raising monuments, which remain whilst ages and generations arise and pass away : we might suppose them capable of braving the ravages of years ; but Time, jealous of his imprescriptible rights, beats down, overturns, and annihilates these pretended immortal edifices. The stars in the celestial canopy, ever perfect, ever incorruptible, shine only on their ruins ; and men will soon disagree about the place they have occupied : the stars themselves, which by their immensity and duration awe our imagination, as our eyes are dazzled by their splendour, will one day be extinguished by the voice of that Eternal Being, who alone will survive our works and his own creation.

Before I quit the theatre of Saguntum, I must observe, that no care is taken to preserve this valuable monument. A sort of keeper has his habitation there, which he extends or changes as is most convenient to himself, by pulling down whatever incommodes him. A few poor families

milies build within it wretched huts, for which the Romans, almost twenty centuries ago, prepared walls and ceilings. Never was time better assisted in its ravages. Had count Caylus or Winkelmann been witnesses to these sacrileges, they would have watered this barbarous earth with their tears; but antiquity appears not to have one enthusiastical admirer within a hundred leagues round Murviedro. I must, however, do justice to the ingenious idea of the corregidor of Murviedro, notwithstanding it would appear to us, who are accustomed to the circumscribed limits of our modern theatres, too vast and gigantic. This magistrate raising up, if I may so speak, the remains of a Roman theatre, last year restored it for some hours to its ancient use, by causing a Spanish piece to be represented within its walls.

From the theatre of Saguntum we climb rather than walk up to the ancient fortresses of the Moors, which
crown

crown the enclosure; upon the platform on the summit, is an humble hermitage, the inhabitant of which enjoys one of the finest prospects in Spain. It commands the rich plain which separates Murviedro from Valencia. From the hermitage we see the steeples of this capital rising through the orchards, by which it is surrounded. Before us we view, in perspective, a considerable part of the Mediterranean, the shores of which are covered with vineyards, olive and mulberry trees from Murviedro to the edges of its banks: on the left a chain of hills bounds the horizon and insensibly diminishes to a level with the sea, leaving no interval but that formed by the road to Barcelona.

Satisfied with admiring, I descended to Murviedro. The servant of our obliging guide there waited for us, and had prepared a plentiful dinner, to which all the productions of the neighbouring country had contributed. Sufficiency, though without luxury or elegance, displayed

played itself in all his rustic apartments. I remarked that one of the steps which led to them was a stone from among those with antique inscriptions in the ruins of ancient Saguntum; monuments never intended to be trodden under foot by the ignorant modern inhabitants of that city. Even they, however, applauded the happy idea of the corregidor; and their sacrileges are expiated.

The wine of the environs of Murviedro is strong and well-tasted; but most of it is converted into brandy, which is put into barrels on the spot. These are sent to a small port about a league from Murviedro, where they are there shipped for the North, or for Spanish America, which for some years past has afforded a considerable market for the brandies of the coast of Valencia.

In the evening I returned to Valencia, whence I departed two days after, and I must confess with great regret:
I had

I had there found what might well engage a curious traveller to remain much longer; instruction and pleasure. My visit to Saguntum and the manufactures did not prevent me from assisting at great dinners, country parties, concerts, and balls; and, notwithstanding the austerity of the prelate, at a private play represented by some of the first nobility, who in this capital are so blind to their own interest as to be the slaves of vanity by excluding merchants from their society. They are punished for this by the insipid life they in general lead; to shake off which, in some measure, they conceived the design of representing a Spanish tragedy. The count de Carlet was the only person among this somewhat too supercilious nobility, to whom I had recommendations. The count is a nobleman of Valencia, has travelled much, and in foreign countries acquired a taste for the fine arts. He procured me the pleasure of passing an hour at this representation. I saw there the people of quality of

Valencia, and perceived it was much to be regretted that several of the fair sex were not more frequently seen, and in a narrower circle. I cannot omit mentioning, with the utmost respect, the countess of Lumierez, and the two mademoiselles de Mascarell.

In returning from Valencia to Madrid I would not take the road by which I had come. There was another, longer by seven leagues, but much less rugged and difficult. As it was not the post road, and as that mode of travelling had besides been inconvenient to me, I hired one of the little cabriolets, called *Calezin*, so much in vogue in that country, and which, even in the streets of Valencia, perform the same service as our hackney coaches. I took my place in this humble carriage, after dining with the count of Carlet. His guests, as well as himself, shewed me, until the last moment, the most flattering politeness. I was accompanied to the distance of half a league from the city by five or six persons,

persons, one of whom was the king's lieutenant, M. de Cortes, an old man, equally amiable and respectable, who appeared to have honoured me with a distinguished place in his esteem, and seemed much affected when he took his leave. I continued to take the road to San-Felipe, still enchanted with the beauties Nature has so prodigally bestowed on this favoured country, and delighted with the kindness and cordiality of its inhabitants,

For six leagues I crossed the richest country imaginable, by one of the best roads in Spain. The three last leagues to San-Felipe, are less agreeable than the former, but the nurseries of mulberry and olive plants, interspersed with fields of rice, continue to the environs of the city.

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surrounded by dogs and cats, and stung by insects. I shortened this disagreeable night as much as possible, and at four o'clock was ready to pursue my journey; but, before I departed, I had time sufficient to visit the city, known in the war of the Spanish succession by the name of *Xativa*. The city and suburbs occupy a considerable space; yet the inhabitants amount not to more than ten thousand. It is built on the declivity of a mountain, at the foot of two castles, which form an amphitheatre. This situation accounts for the long resistance made by *Xativa* to the arms of Philip V. for which it was punished by the loss of its name and privileges. Among the churches of San-Felipe there is one intirely new, which has a better appearance than many cathedrals. San-Felipe has also a great number of fountains that would embellish even the most considerable cities.

I now took leave of fine roads and rich countries, and soon travelled between

tween uncultivated and depopulated hills, seeing nothing either to the right or left but a little hemp and corn. After three leagues of unequal road, by turns over stones and a greasy soil which the least rain dissolves, I arrived at the *Venta del Puerto*, a miserable village, fourteen leagues from Valencia, and upon the confines of the kingdom of Murcia, which I had heard so much extolled. From this point the view is confined on all sides by sterile mountains, crossed by the road to Almanza. After having travelled half a league, I discovered this place, at the extremity of a vast plain, famous for the victory which insured the throne to Philip V. This plain is well cultivated, and its fertility seems to increase as we approach Almanza. It produces corn and hemp. There is a tradition at Almanza, that the years immediately succeeding the battle, which has received its name from that place, were extremely fertile; a sad compensation for the destruction the victory had occasioned to the human species.

The conquerors and the conquered, heaped upon each other on the field of battle, fattened the soil, the scene of their victory or defeat, and increased, by their death, the fertility of the country they had ravaged during their lives. About the distance of a cannon shot, on this side Almanza, is a fole, which is ascended by a few steps, and bears upon its four sides Latin and Spanish inscriptions, relative to the victory gained by the Marshal Berwick. Above the fole rises a little pyramid, upon which was formerly an armed lion. As the pyramid is placed close by the side of the great road, the people of Valencia had continually before their eyes an upbraiding token of their rebellion, and, with stones, beat down the lion which still seemed to threaten them. The small statue the pyramid now bears, was substituted to the lion. To eternise a victory like that of Almanza, a more magnificent monument would be to be wished for.

Almanza is only a spacious village with wide streets, and low but handsome houses. Its industry is confined to the weavers, who indeed are numerous: the hemp grown in the neighbourhood is not sufficient for their employment. To the north of the village are the ruins of an old inhabited castle, and to the west, at about a quarter of a league from Almanza, is an irregular mountain, of such a shape, that at a distance the traveller is inclined to take it for an enormous intrenchment.

The roads which lead from Almanza are bad, across a stony country, wild, and covered with heath; this is another not very pleasing part of the kingdom of Murcia. For about a league the road runs by the side of a wood of *Cascarrales*, large trees, the fruit of which is a long husk, full of a kind of coagulated juice, and given as a treat to the cattle of the country. A little farther on I crossed a wood of green oaks, (*Encinas*) which produce the *bellotta* or

acorn, a fruit formerly precious to our ancestors, and which, in the present age, is not too vulgar for the delicate taste of the Spanish ladies. It is true the acorn of these green oaks sensibly differs from that of the common oak (*Robles*). It is lesser, and has a taste a good deal like that of a hazel nut. The other kind of acorn, which in Spain has the same bitterness as in other countries, is employed for the same purpose as elsewhere.

Two leagues from the little village Del villar, is the *Venta del Rincon*, a solitary inn, but tolerably good, although situated in a barren soil. A league farther on we perceive Chinchilla, a town on a barren eminence, but which commands the spacious and fertile plains of la Mancha. As we approach Albacete the soil gives sufficient indications that they are near. This town, situated thirty leagues from Valencia and Alicant, is a quarter for cavalry, and has in its environs fields of wheat, barley and some pastures,
About

About half a league from it is a tolerably handsome aqueduct, the road leading to which is the favorite walk of the inhabitants.

Albacete covers a considerable space of ground; it is a place much frequented by travellers, and especially by people in business. Its industry is exercised on the iron and steel brought thither from Alicant. The manufactures of Albacete will not for a long time be prejudicial to the hard-ware of France and England; but they are at least sufficient to banish from the city idleness and poverty, and to give to the inhabitants an appearance of opulence and activity, which pleases the eye of the traveller, fatigued with crossing a barren and wretched country.

From Albacete, after having passed through two extensive villages, La Gineta and La Roa, I arrived at Minalla, another large village, so unprovided that I found nothing I could purchase to eat, not even

even bread; of which each individual bakes as much as is sufficient for his own wants, and has none to sell. The nine leagues of road from Albacete to Minallá lie across a vast plain which, not being well cultivated, produces only a little corn and some saffron. The inhabitants, however, though in all other respects without industry or activity, feed numbers of those impure animals proscribed by the law of Moses, and which poetry dares not name without a periphrasis.

I went in the evening to Al Provenzio, where I slept. This is a town rather considerable; the cultivation of saffron is the principal employment of the inhabitants. At Al Provenzio I met with a French baker, who was delighted at hearing me speak his own language, which inspired him with sufficient confidence to induce him to make his complaints to me of the persecutions he suffered, and to request me to lay them before the minister. Although he had long been married and established in the country,

try, he never had been able to expiate the crime of being a Frenchman ; he was looked upon with a jealous eye, and feverely treated : his great and unpardonable fault was, making better bread than the other bakers. Thus, in every situation, envy accompanies and embitters success. I administered to the poor baker all the consolation my humanity could suggest : and, for a few comforting words and vague promises of using my credit in his favour, I received his benedictions and the effusions of his gratitude.

Beyond Al Provenzio the soil becomes better ; I crossed well cultivated lands, and passed through two villages. Pedronera, in which there is a manufactory of saltpetre, and La Mota well situated in no very deep valley. This village is commanded by an eminence upon which are twelve windmills, which appear as if ranged in order of battle. According to their position, relative to the two villages, Quintanar and El Toboso, which owe all their renown to the immortal

tal Cervantes, I doubted not but these windmills were those on which Don Quixote made his first essay in chivalry. I surveyed the extensive plains which had been the scene of his adventures. I was only a league from El Toboso, the birth place of the fair Dulcinea ; and by making a little circuit, might pass through this village, which the lively pen of Cervantes has almost nearly rendered equal in fame to the greatest cities history has celebrated. I seemed to see the shades of this great man, and of his hero wandering in these fields. To have gone out of the way about half a league would have completely gratified my curiosity ; but my conductor, who was but little versed in literature, and like la Fontaine's stag, *not accustomed to read*, did not partake of my curiosity : I was obliged to content myself with discovering, from the great road, the steeple of El Toboso, the little wood in which Don Quixote waited for the tender interview to be procured him by his faithful squire, and the house in
which

which Dulicinea received his amorous message.

Full of the ideas which these romantic plains called to my recollection, I passed through Quentavar, and arrived at Corral, a large village within nine leagues of Aranjuez.

It was to this place that one of the fine roads of Spain, for which the kingdom is indebted to the Count de Florida Blanca, had been brought, and which has since been further continued. No road can be more straight, solid, or better formed. It begins at Aranjuez, and, crossing Ocana, advances into la Mancha, within sixteen leagues of the capital. Thence to Madrid the road is as fine as any in Europe; but this barren, naked and ill peopled country yet remains to be rendered flourishing; the industry of the inhabitants, crowded together in the great villages, at least three leagues from each other, without so much as a hamlet, farm or thicket, in the interval which
separates

separates them, is yet to be excited; and commodious asylums to be built for travellers, who in crossing the extended and burning plains, frequently stand in need of shade, refreshment, and repose. These conveniences are wanting on all the roads in Spain: to furnish them is a task worthy of the intelligent zeal of the Count de Florida Blanca, who has for several years past dedicated the leisure of peace to this beneficent purpose.

At the time of my return from Valencia, this minister was seriously employed in establishing stage carriages. Until then, the only manner of travelling expeditiously was on post horses; and those whose age, sex or situation would not permit them to travel in this dangerous manner, were obliged to be slowly dragged in the carriages of the country, drawn by six mules, the only animals used here to draw. These carriages, called *colleras*, go eight or, at most, ten leagues a day, so that the journey from Cadiz to Bayonne, a distance of an hundred leagues, took
up

up at least three weeks. The Count de Florida Blanca perceived that one means of giving new life to the country, was to render communication more speedy and easy. He therefore conceived the project of making roads, building inns, and establishing post horses. The expences and difficulties of the late war retarded the execution of the plan; and, even since the re-establishment of the peace, it has been but slowly and gradually executed*. The four principal roads, those from Madrid to Cadiz, to Barcelona, to the frontiers of France, and to Portugal, were first attended to by the minister; and among these that which established a communication between the two most eminent cities in the kingdom required the preference; for which reason, the first cares of the Count de Florida Blanca were

* I have been informed that, since my departure from Spain, there are diligences established on some of the principal roads, among others, from Bayonne to Madrid, by which means the journey may be performed in six days.

dedicated to it; and towards the end of 1784, travelling in a post-chaise from Madrid to Cadiz, was already commodious, at least in fine weather; for the roads of Andalusia have still need of much repair, not to be impassable after long rains.

In the year 1785, I was one of the first who made use of the new convenience to cross this famous Province, and to visit one of the most celebrated ports in the world.

From Aranjuez, I first went to Ocana, a little city upon a rising ground, which insensibly lowers as we approach Guardia, distant from it three leagues. In 1785 Ocana contained nothing remarkable, but a riding school, which flourished under the direction of lieutenant-general Don Antonio Ricardos, and furnished the Spanish cavalry with able officers, when the count, for reasons of which I will not pretend to judge, thought proper to suppress it.

On

On leaving Ocana the eye embraces a vast plain perfectly level, which gives some previous idea of those of la Mancha. As we approach this province we meet with frequent groups of olive trees. All Guardia, except the church, appears at a distance like a large heap of ruins. Tembleque, which is two leagues from it, has not a bad appearance, nor is it destitute of industry. Silks are woven there from the raw materials brought from Toledo. The neighbouring country also produces a little saltpetre: this, however, does not embellish the environs.

The first stage after Tembleque, is a little solitary house, called Canada de la Higuera: this is the most miserable inn upon the whole road. I found nothing there but water, which, for want of a glass, I was obliged to drink out of the pitcher.

Two leagues farther on is Madridejos, a handsome village, on leaving which

the traveller is agreeably surpris'd to find, in the midst of plains entirely without verdure, an alley of white elms, a few kitchen gardens, and several clumps of trees :—*Rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

This plain leads to Puertolapiche, a little village, near to which Don Quixote, at the beginning of his adventures, was dubbed knight-errant. It is situated at the extremity of two hills, over which are scattered a few orange trees. The hills gradually lower towards a kind of defile, where the vast plains of la Mancha become narrow for a short space, and afterwards widen and extend themselves to the feet of the Sierra Morena.

Villalta is a village two leagues from the latter, where coarse cloths are made with the wool of the district. Before I arrived there I pass'd a long and narrow stone bridge, badly kept in repair, on each side of which is a large morass covered

vered with standing water and weeds. The traveller is not a little surpris'd when he learns that this species of marsh is the stream of the river Guadiana, which, at a little distance from the bridge, hides its lazy waters underground, afterwards appears again, crosses Estramadura, then a part of Portugal, and forms, where it falls into the sea, the limit between that kingdom and Spain.

From Villalta to Manzanares, one of the greatest towns of la Mancha, are five long leagues; the carabineers have there one of their chief quarters, and in return for the plenty they diffuse through the district, they somewhat violate, regardless of moral propriety, the rights of hospitality. They form the finest corps of the Spanish army, and their being fixed in la Mancha secures to that province the continuation of a fine race of subjects. Frederick II. in his political and military system, would, perhaps, have commended a disorder useful to his

views. Charles III. is certainly unacquainted with it; his virtue would never suffer him to tolerate an open violation of order and decency.

At a short distance from Manzanares I crossed the little river of Javalon, the waters of which, according to the plan adopted in 1785, are to be employed to effect a junction between the Tagus and the Guadiana. The wine of the environs of Manzanares is little inferior to that of Valdepennas, another town, four leagues from the former. All this district is the real good wine country of la Mancha. Santa Cruz, two leagues farther on, is the chief place of the estates of the grandee of Spain, who, since the last year, has been grand-master of his Catholic majesty's household. Two leagues from Santa Cruz, is the little village of Almoradiel, where, towards the south, the vast plains of la Mancha terminate. I believe there is not a country in Europe less varied than that for twenty long and tedious leagues between Tembleque
and

and Almoradiel. Nothing can be more undiversified than the aspect of this vast horizon : we travel three or four leagues without meeting with an human habitation to give repose to the wearied eye ; we wander over fields, almost countries even, the cultivation of which does not appear lively, although the soil wants nothing but less aridity to become excellent. A few thin plantations of olive trees sometimes interrupt the uniformity of the plain ; fewer vineyards are found than we should expect there when the great consumption of the wine of la Mancha in Spain is considered. This province is not so uniform in its dimensions as that we cross from Madrid to Cadiz. To the west of Tembleque and Madrideojos, there are wide valleys less dry than the plains. Every two years the king goes to take the diversion of hunting in the environs of Yébenes, a village in the western part of la Mancha, twelve leagues from Aranjuez, that commands a fine and very extensive valley, in which is a vast number of olive plants, and on the other side,

the old castle of Consuegra is seen on a chain of hills. The city of this name is at the foot of the castle. Here a Frenchman, M. Salvador Dampierre, of whom I have formerly spoken, established, ten or twelve years ago, a manufacture of saltpetre, the success of which answered not to his endeavours.

After leaving Almoradiel, we approach the Sierra Morena. A few years ago this district was the dread of travellers, who, therefore, when they were to cross it, went more to the west, to gain the chain of mountains of the same name: passing by the town of Viso, and thence crossing the mountains, almost at the peril of their lives, in one of the steepest parts, called *Puerto del Rey*. M. le Maur, a Frenchman, who for a long time has been one of the corps of engineers in Spain, and whose talents languished in oblivion, was chosen in 1779, by the count de Florida Blanca, to render practicable a road the most frequented of any in the kingdom. He has made it
one

one of the finest in Europe; it continues for six leagues, from Almoradiel to Carolina: at first it has an ascent almost insensible; but the rocks of which this country is full, rise still higher; and the road passes through the windings they form. M. le Maur had no choice but that of carrying it through the valleys, which lie at their foot, or over their craggy tops. The hand of genius found a medium, and conducts the astonished traveller along the side of the rocks. Those which opposed his passage were either removed by the explosion of gunpowder, or levelled by art and industry; some of them support the same road to which they seemed to oppose invincible obstacles, as conquerors overthrow the enemies of their glorious designs, and convert them into instruments to execute their will. By long circuits only, it is that art has gained this triumph; it called to its aid bridges, arched slopes, and walls breast high: feeble ramparts, behind which the traveller proceeds without danger or fear

upon the brink of an abyss. In this manner he arrives at the *despena perros*, where the rocks approach each other so near that they seem to form a vault over his head. A brook runs through the valley; and its water will be of great assistance to the canal of which M. le Maur has drawn the plan.

About a quarter of a league beyond this mass of rocks, is the post stage of *Las Correderas*, a group of solitary thatched cabins, in the bosom of the mountains. There is no difficulty in ascending from this place to la Carolina, the chief town of the new settlement of the Sierra Morena. I have already observed, that the flourishing state of this settlement is due to Don Pablo Olavide. The disgrace of this illustrious man has been the cause of their decline; not that his successor Don Miguel Ondeano has not the strongest zeal and most excellent intentions: but besides his not having the splendid talents of M. Olavide, and especially that intelligent activity which
animates

animates every place to which it is directed, he was deprived, during all the late war, of the hundred thousand reals a month which the king assigned for the support of these colonies; this suspends indispensable measures, the expences of which the intendant estimated, in 1785, at near four millions and a half of reals. Such were the building of a certain number of houses, the repairing of several others which had been almost destroyed by the injuries of time, the establishment of eight magazines of corn, the building of two new churches, of an oil-mill, of barracks, &c. all necessary to the progress of cultivation and population. Another source of the decline of this colony, the establishment of which, notwithstanding its defects, does honour to the reign of Charles III. is the taxes government is too much in a hurry to draw from it. The poor colonists, who do not cultivate a soil by much so fertile as at first it was thought to be, already pay to the king contributions for the wine, oil, brandy,

brandy, salt and even corn, which they consume. It seems too much pains has been taken to prove to the court, that this establishment, far from being long an expence to it, might in a few years reimburse the advances made in its favour. These different discouragements have made agriculture languish, and driven several families from the colony. However, as I passed through it, a well-informed person assured me the emigrations had ceased, and that in the little capital of la Carolina and the hamlets depending upon it, there were still five thousand and forty-four persons. A part of the German families, which at first were numerous in the colony, have retired from it. Those which remain associate by degrees with the Spaniards; and at la Carolina they have no longer a priest among them who speaks their language.

Guarroman, the first stage from la Carolina, is one of the principal places of the colonies of the Sierra Morena. It contains about a hundred and fourteen fami-

families, and continues to prosper. Corn and cattle are the principal resources of the colonists. From Guarroman we descend towards Baylen, near the confines of the Sierra Morena. Baylen is an ancient town, in the neighbourhood of which we find some of the finest horses in Andalusia.

The stage from Baylen to the *Casa del Rey*, is the worst upon the road. It is by turns sandy and rocky, steep and crooked, and the traveller would sooner go over it on foot than in a post-chaise.

At about a league from Baylen I remarked to the left a large *Venta*, M. Olavide had ordered to be begun, but which, since his disgrace, has been neglected, as if it had been subjected to the same anathema as its founder.

I afterwards passed the Rumblar, which a league farther on falls into the Guadalquivir, over a handsome stone bridge. At last I arrived at the *Casa del Rey*, a
foli-

380 THE PRESENT STATE

solitary inn in the middle of the woods. Here I began to perceive the Guadalquivir, at which I arrived, at a little distance from Anduxar. The whole road from Guarroman to this city is planted with olive trees; and their pale and gloomy foliage is the only verdure seen in that interval.

Anduxar has a good appearance; its environs are agreeable, and sufficiently indicate the neighbourhood of a river. The Guadalquivir runs at a little distance from the walls of the city. It has long been intended to make it navigable here; but the first thing necessary to be done is to pull down three mills which obstruct its course, and extend almost from one bank to the other.

From this city the road lies over two bridges, separated by an old and very massy gate, and afterwards runs by the side of a long plantation of olive trees. It then continues over a steep hill, and, after a stage of three long leagues and a half,

half, brings you to *Aldea del Río*, a village upon an eminence, on the bank of the Guadalquivir. Its situation is delightful, and the inhabitants seem happy, and not so poor as those of the rest of the district. They manufacture some coarse cloth with the wool they gather. I found there excellent water melons, for which the Luculluses of Paris would, in the heat of the dog-days, have paid a guinea each, although they were sold to me at five-pence.

The road from this village runs near the Guadalquivir to that of Del Carpio, situated upon a steep hill, and commanded by an old castle, which, as I was confidently informed, was built before the time of the famous Bernard del Carpio.

From this place to Cordova is five long leagues. This ancient city, celebrated for having been the native place of Seneca and Lucan; the residence, during several centuries, of the Moorish kings,

kings, and producing in the neighbouring country the finest horses in Andalusia, has nothing majestic in its appearance. The only remarkable edifice it contains is the cathedral. The streets are narrow and ill-paved. The best view of it is as you arrive from Cadiz. It forms, upon a very gentle declivity, a kind of semicircular amphitheatre on the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Coming from Madrid, the river is passed over a bridge, called Puente d'Alcoleda. It was much out of order when I was at Cordova, and was then undergoing a repair.

From the bridge to the walls of Cordova, the ground is even, the soil well cultivated, and planted with many young olive trees.

During the short stay I made in this city, I did not fail to visit the famous cathedral, which formerly served as a mosque to the Moors. It forms a long square

square of a hundred and fifty-eight paces by a hundred and thirty-eight, and is well lighted, but too low. The columns are marble, placed in quincunx and well preserved. Without counting them one by one, it is difficult to know exactly their number, because most of the rows are interrupted by some door or chapel; but as far as I could judge I should estimate them at about six hundred. These columns of blackish marble reach not the ceiling; they are scarcely more than ten or twelve feet high, and have neither base nor capital; they are joined to each other by two arches placed one above the other, covered with plaister, and supported with stone-work whitened over. The result of the whole is but little agreeable to the eye. The cathedral therefore is more remarkable for its oddity than any real beauties. However, this vast edifice, supported by a forest of columns, and ornamented with chapels, in general well decorated, has something grand in its appearance. The Christians, when they consecrated the
mosque

mosque to the worship of the true God, added no embellishments. They have somewhat lessened its dimensions by the principal chapels; the ceiling of one of which seems to be preserved as it was in the time of the Moors.

By the side of the cathedral is a court, the precious remains of the residence of the Moors at Cordova. It is planted with orange trees, the ancient and tufted foliage of which serves as an asylum to great numbers of birds, and covers, with its shade, several fountains, which render the air constantly cool. I shall not soon forget the ill reception I met with in this city. If I had formed my opinion of the character of the people of Cordova like the Englishman, who passed a night at Blois, and judged of all the inhabitants by the woman of the inn where he slept, I should have conceived a very indifferent idea of their urbanity. I had entered the cathedral without difficulty; but whilst I was numbering the columns, and estimating its dimensions, the few persons I had
found

found there retired, and the different doors I had observed were shut; none but that which opens to the fine orangery of the Moors was left unlocked: I went to it to go out. But what was my surprise at being addressed by two beadle, who reproached me, without much ceremony, for the time I had lost in *surveying*, as they called it, their church, as if that had been the proper time to remain there. I represented to them mildly (for this was not the moment to be refractory) that as I was a stranger in Cordova, I could not know that noon was an improper time to be in the cathedral. It is well for you, replied they harshly (for mildness often encourages insolence) that these two dogs (shewing me the animals) which are kept to guard the church, did not see for you; in that case you would have made your escape much quicker than you came in, as they would not have given you time to count the pillars. While going out, by a door in the court, which they rather unwillingly opened to me, I expressed my astonishment that the strange office of

VOL. II. C c driving

driving the faithful from the house of God, should be conferred upon dogs. But my travelling dress had nothing in it which commanded respect; and my remonstrance could have had no effect; which I cannot but regret on account of those who may go thither in future.

The exterior appearance of this cathedral has in it nothing extraordinary. It presents a massy and irregular building with enormous square pillars. In the city, we perceive no traces of that activity which accompanies industry, although there are manufactures of ribbons, laces and hats.

From Cordova to Eccija is a distance of ten leagues, across a fine well cultivated country, with several plantations of olive trees. On this road the traveller first changes horses at *El Cortejo del Mango Negro*, a solitary farm-house, which I found surrounded with cows, where, however, it would not have been more difficult to find a glass of nectar than a basin

bafon of milk. The people of the country told me, it *was not the custom* to milk the cows.

La Carlotta, a handsome new built village, is three leagues from this stage. The foundation of la Carlotta was nearly at the same time, and had a like object with that of la Carolina. It is the chief place of the new settlements of Andalusia. The intendant who presides over them, as also over those of la Carolina, was at la Carlotta when I arrived there. I went to visit this respectable man, whom I had known at Madrid. I greatly admired the beauty of his apartments; but could not but call to mind, what I had frequently heard observed, that it was by such beginnings, that in Spain, most such projects failed. La Carlotta is delightfully situated in the center of an open country, where olive trees succeed remarkably well. It is not so large as la Carolina, but more so than a third settlement of the same kind, called la Luisiana, three leagues beyond Eccija. There are at most but a hundred and fifty fami-

lies in this colony, and the cultivation of grain is almost their only resource.

Between these two colonies, and four leagues from the former, stands Eccija, a pretty large town, well built, and one of the handsomest in Andalusia.

The road to it from la Carlotta is pleasant; it crosses a well cultivated country, abounding in plantations of olive trees and villas. Farm houses and oil mills are seen scattered over the whole horizon.

On the other side of Eccija the land is less cultivated. Leaving the town I observed, at no great distance, an obelisk in a bad style. I afterwards passed the Xenil, over a handsome bridge.

The ground gradually lowers after leaving la Luifiana. The little farm houses, which make a part of this new colony, are continued near the great road, at small distances from each other, for half

half a league; some of them are inhabited by German families, who, happily for the thirsty traveller, are acquainted with the custom of milking cows.

Soon after I had left la Luifiana, I perceived, at a distance, some of the houses of Carmona, which from this side has no very promising appearance; it is, however, a considerable town. The steeple of the principal church is of a singular structure. It is a high tower, which gradually inclines to and terminates in a steeple, and upon which are placed the most whimsical ornaments of architecture. This modern toy proves that true taste has not yet penetrated into that part of Spain. It certainly has not had the sanction of the academy of San Fernando.

From Carmona to Seville is six leagues, during which you once change horses. The country is level and covered with olive trees. I had only one afternoon

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to dedicate to the remarkable things of the second city in Spain. A very obliging Frenchman, to whom I was recommended, gratified the wishes of my impatient curiosity.

We first visited the tobacco manufactory; a prodigious establishment, as well for the size of the edifice as the number of hands employed in it. We saw the tobacco in leaves as it comes from the Havannah, where but a small quantity is manufactured, the manner of rasping it, that of preparing the kind of ochre (*almazarron*) with which it is mixt to give it a colour and oiliness; the manner of making this mixture, and that of forming the little rolls of it, called *Cigarros*, the consumption of which is so considerable in Spain. We went through the separate chambers in which the different kinds of tobacco are kept labelled, and ready to be sent to the different provinces of the kingdom. It would be difficult to find in so small a space more activity or a greater variety of
occu-

occupations. This manufacture is one of the most abundant sources of revenue to the sovereign. The annual produce to the treasury is estimated at twenty millions of livres (above eight hundred thousand pounds sterling).

We afterwards went to the foundry of copper cannon, which, with that of Barcelona, supplies all the Spanish arsenals in Europe. The method of M. Maritz is still followed there, with some trifling variations. I observed, with pleasure, the ingenious machine with which the cannon are bored, after having been cast solid.

From what I could learn relative to this foundry, I concluded, that either from negligence or dishonesty in the people employed, there was room for a considerable saving in the expences. Six thousand quintals of copper from Mexico and Peru are annually refined at Seville, and each quintal of refined copper costs the king about fifty reals

(ten shillings and three-pence). A little before I arrived at Seville, a Frenchman proposed to the king a method which would have made a saving of twenty-two reals a quintal. But either from a servile attachment to old forms, a prejudice against the nation of the proposer, or other less innocent motives, the proposition was rejected. The Frenchman was not discouraged; he refined a quantity of copper, and cast a few pieces of cannon according to his own method. The proofs, at which the Spaniards vouchsafed to be present, that they might not too openly betray their unwillingness to adopt the proposal of the stranger, shewed the cannon to be of an excellent quality: but intrigue, which was not idle on this occasion, found means to prevent the experiment from being any further prosecuted.

Leaving this foundry, we visited the finest parts of Seville. We walked along the banks of the Guadalquivir, which the late intendants of Andalusia, Messieurs

seignors Olavide, Domefain and Lerena, were at great pains to embellish. I could not but admire the large open space facing the suburb of Triana, a considerable part of the city, from which it is separated by the river. Some principal buildings adorn, to a certain distance, this part of the banks. In the interval between the former and the Guadalquivir, M. Lerena had begun to form a walk, which his promotion prevented him from finishing. M. Olavide was stopped by another cause in his projects of embellishments. Seville, however, is indebted to him for a part of its quays, some establishments, several handsome edifices, and a long alley of trees which are planted by the side of the Guadalquivir, beyond the walls of the city. In spite of the anathemas of the inquisition, he will not soon be forgotten by the inhabitants.

To judge of the whole of Seville, we went up to the *Giralda* (the name given to the steeple of the cathedral) by a spiral

a spiral ascent without steps. The cathedral is a vast edifice, and one of the finest gothic monuments which remain. The ground, on which Seville stands, seemed to us nearly as extensive as the city of Madrid itself.

I did not forget to seek for the tomb of Christopher Columbus, before the choir of the cathedral; it is distinguished by one stone only which bears these words *A Castilla y Arragon otro mundo diò Colon**: a laconic inscription in the true lapidary style, to the full as expressive as those pompous ones with which high sounding rhetoric, bribed by vanity, loads the mausoleums of so many useless personages, without being able to preserve them from oblivion.

I knew that Seville was the native place of the famous painter Murillo, and that his principal works were preserved

* To Castile and Arragon Columbus gave another world.

there.

there. I found them in the capuchin convent and the hospital of charity.

In the convent I was particularly delighted with a Christ who loosens himself from the cross, with an expression of the most affecting sweetness, to embrace Saint Francis.

In the hospital are ten paintings by Murillo, all of which equally claim attention. That of Moses bringing water out of the rock excited my admiration; as did also those of the return of the prodigal son, and Saint Elizabeth curing several young persons about her of a loathsome disease.

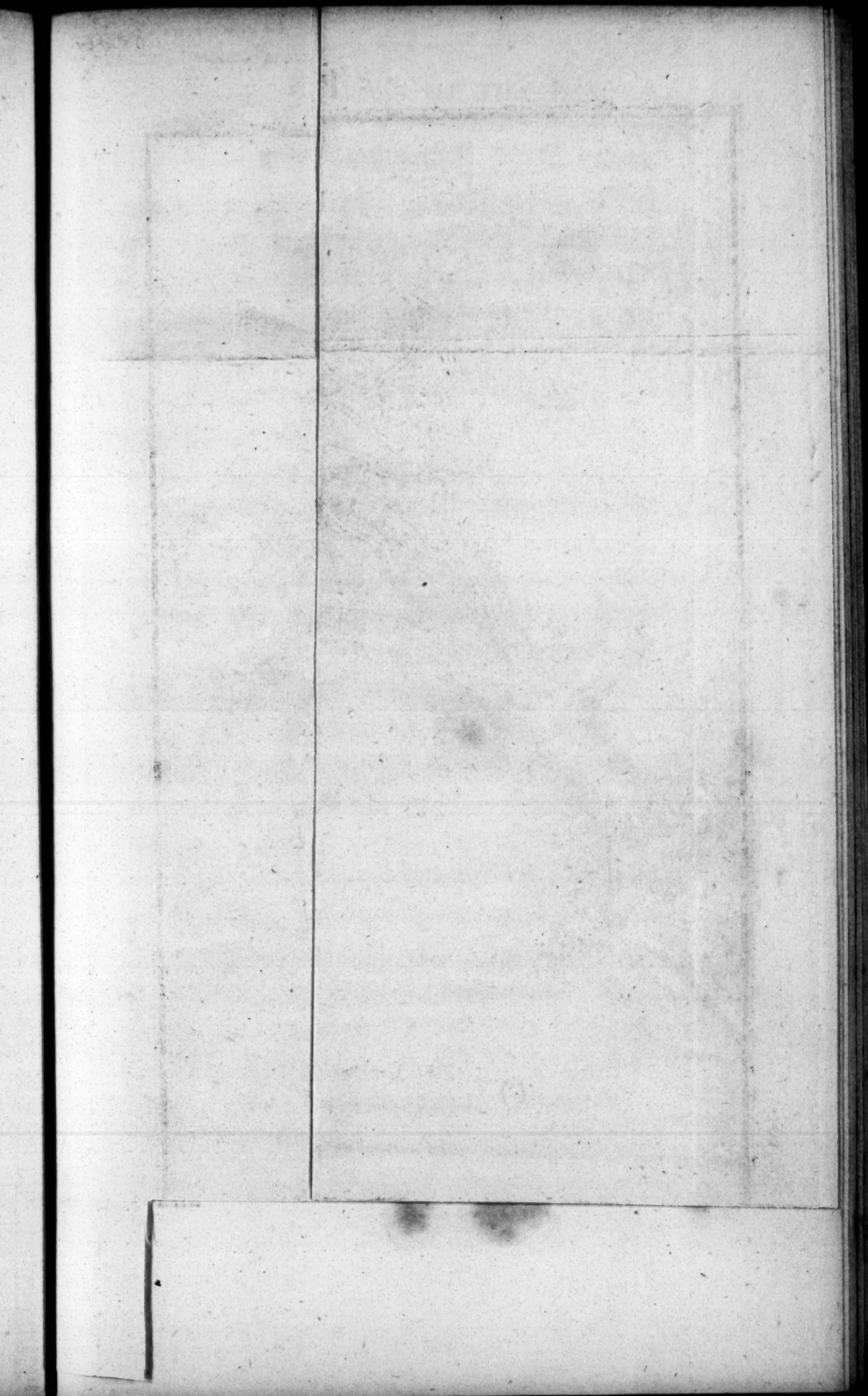
I visited the Alcazar of Seville, formerly the palace of the Moorish kings, and the mint, two neighbouring edifices, each remarkable in its kind. The Alcazar is very spacious, but irregular: the mint is the most ancient in Spain.

The

The environs of Seville appeared like those of the other cities of Andalusia, tolerably well cultivated. I remarked in them, what is very rare in Spain, orchards and several villas.

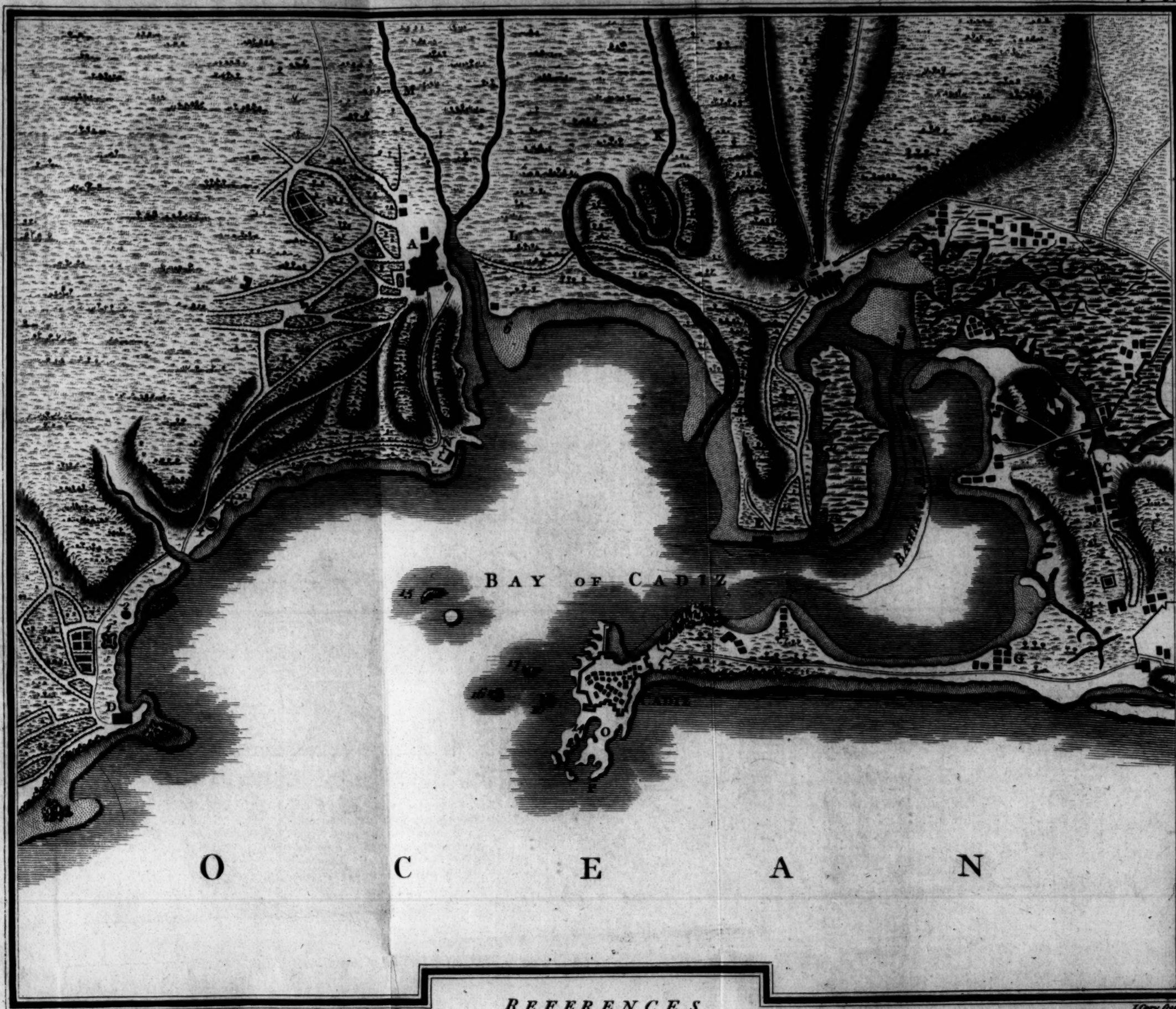
In the space of sixteen leagues, which separates Seville from Port Saint Mary, nothing engaged my attention except the handsome town of Xerez, the environs of which produce the excellent wine of that name, and contain the richest Carthusian monastery in Spain. This southern part of Andalusia is covered with vineyards, corn fields, and olive trees, but the cultivation was what did not particularly strike me. I crossed some barren parts of this district which did not bring to my recollection the boasted beauties of the ancient Bætica

The road from Xerez to Port Saint Mary begins on an uneven ground, and terminates in the middle of sands. These continue until we arrive at Saint Mary, a handsome town, almost wholly new built,



PLAN OF THE BAY OF CADIZ

Vol. II page 397.



REFERENCES

J. Cary, Sculp.

A Port S^t Mary

B Puerto Real

C Isle de Leon

D Rota

E { Fort Matagorda one of the

Puntales

F { Fort San Lorenzo one of the

Puntales

G Santa Banea

H Point de la Cantera

I La Carraca

K San Pedro River

L El Coto

M Guadalete Riv

N Fort S^t Catherine

O Fort S^t Sebastian

P Southern Point

1 Canuelos Redoubt

2 La Gallina

3 El Salado Riv.

4 Fortin de Canuelos

5 Fortin

6 The Bar

7 Isle S^t Augustin

8 Caño Ancho

9 S^t Petri Riv

10 Bridge of Suazo

11 Caño del Trocadero

12 Fort Louis

13 Caño Saporito

14 La Caleta

15 La Galera I

16 Las Cochinos I

17 Las Puercas I

18 La Fridera I

built, with wide streets in straight lines. It is properly the residence of the captain-general of Andalusia; but count O'Reilly, who then held this government with that of Cadiz, resided in the latter. He obtained leave, a few years since, to remove the military school, which he founded, when governor of Madrid, to Port Saint Mary. Thus having it under his eye, he began to revive it from that state of languor to which his absence and the war had reduced it, when he was dismissed from the two important employments he held in that country.

The bay of Cadiz is first seen from the top of a hill, half way from Xerez to Port Saint Mary. The prospect is beautiful, especially to those who have previously seen plans of that spacious bay. From the eminence the eye surveys the whole, as in a large map; the two points which form the entrance of the bay are distinctly seen, the fort of Saint Sebastian on one side, and the town
of

of Rota on the other. In front is the city of Cadiz, and we discover the narrow tongue of low land which separates it from the island of Leon, and the almost semicircular bending of the bay to the Carraque, Port-Real and Saint Mary. Thus, no doubt, do provinces, chains of mountains, and the windings of coasts and rivers appear to the eyes of birds when they approach the clouds and escape our sight. Thus do grand and extensive objects appear in their astonishing whole, and the succession of their minuter parts to the bold rivals of the inhabitants of the air, the aerial travellers, whose intrepidity first awakened our rapturous applause, but whom we afterwards slighted in the same degree we had magnified. Posterity will, perhaps, revenge them for our disdainful levity, by immortalizing their names and improving their discoveries.

From Port Saint Mary, I had the choice of two roads; that which goes straight to Cadiz in crossing the Bay, and

and the other leading to it by land, passing by Port-Real and the Isle of Leon. I preferred the former, and having hired, for sixty reals, one of the large barks which the owners are so ready to offer to the service of passengers, in less than an hour was transported by a favourable wind to the quay of Cadiz. Port Saint Mary lies near the mouth of the Guadalete which, by driving its sands into the Bay, forms a bar not to be passed over without some danger, particularly in winter. The boatmen, whose interest it is to keep the passengers in fear, to which they render them tributary, never fail to exaggerate the danger; and in the moment when it is most imminent, recite a prayer, the price of which they afterwards demand by collecting contributions; but the most timid passengers, and even the greatest devotees, have more confidence in the skill of their conductors than in the intercession of the saint they invoke.

I ar-

I arrived at Cadiz at the time when that city, under the beneficent government of the count O'Reilly, experienced several kinds of changes. As his power was uncontrouled, he found no obstacle too great for his activity to surmount. Cadiz owes to him its embellishment, augmentation and cleanliness; why cannot I add its security? But the vigilance of the count had not, in the year 1785, extended to this essential part of the police; and, at that time, murders were very frequent in the city.

If any thing can supply the want of that which insures the peaceable existence of the citizens, this omission has been fully compensated for. By order of the count the old houses were pulled down, to give place to new ones regularly built; the streets were paved, made straighter, and constantly kept clean, and the waste ground was covered with new houses. The governor may be reproached even with excess of œconomy, with respect to this ground. In several triangular

triangular spaces houses were built which, without convenience for those who inhabited them, seemed to have no object but that of incommoding their neighbours. The count endeavoured to extend the confines of the city by gaining space from the sea. The ground upon which the custom-house stands, and that adjacent, was formerly covered by the watery element, but this was anterior to the administration of M. O'Reilly. He meditated another project of the same kind. He wished to take possession of the ground of the Alameda, a walk by the sea side near the bay, the trees of which bear the visible marks of that neighbourhood. His intention was to build there, and to lengthen the space, by raising to a level with it that part of the shore which runs towards the inner part of the city; and, on the outer bank of the new enclosure, he intended to plant a new alley of trees. But to effect this kind of miracle, funds were necessary, and stones and rubbish sufficient to fill up the extensive space the count projected to gain upon the sea.

I know not what has become of his project since his retiring from office. Waiting for a time favourable for its execution, he repaired a kind of rampart, called *la Muralla*, which commands the harbour, and formed a new basin on that side of the quay, where merchandize from the Indies is landed.

He bestowed much attention on the embellishment of the gate on the land side, which was formerly covered with briars, and served as an asylum for robbers. Under the administration of one of his predecessors, gardens were laid out, and several houses built there. At the time of the dispute relative to Falkland Islands, the pusillanimous governor imagining the place in danger, and the enemy near his gates, entrenched behind the feeble efforts of his industry, and destroyed the houses, without observing that the ground on which they stood was wholly commanded by the battery from the land gate.

Under

Under the administration of the count de Xerena, predecessor to count O'Reilly, it was intended to rebuild them; but they did not acquire an agreeable form till the latter became governor. He extended the cultivation of the Isthmus to the side of the great road which leads from Cadiz to the island of Leon, and opened the garden he made there by a railing. The example was imitated by the neighbours; so that for a quarter of a league from the land gate the road is bordered with similar fences, which, by their uniformity, seem to belong to the same proprietor. The neighbourhood of the sea, the heat of the climate, and the nature of the soil, the sand of which it is not possible to cover with good earth above a certain height, are visible in this cultivation; but it is not the less agreeable to see verdure, and gather flowers and fruits in a soil which so many circumstances seem to condemn to sterility. While walking in the garden of the assessor Mora, and that of the governor, which joins it, and viewing

all the rich productions of Andalusia, the vines, mulberry and olive trees that flourish there, we forget the nature of the ground on which we tread, and the element by which it is almost surrounded. In time, these environs of the land gate will form a kind of suburb; a church is already built, a quarter of a league from the city, for those who reside in that neighbourhood.

But nothing does more honour to the zeal, understanding, and humanity of count O'Reilly than the Hospitium, which owes to him, if not its first establishment, at least the admirable form given it in the course of the year 1785. No foundation of the kind can be better directed; it provides, within the same edifice, succour to every class of subjects who claim either the cares or inspection of government; to the aged of both sexes, to incurables, vagabonds, prostitutes, the insane, and children of both sexes whom their parents are incapable of maintaining. Each class is placed in
spacious

spacious and well aired apartments. Every person is furnished with food and employment according to his age and situation. Poor families find there an asylum, and the number of individuals does not alarm the beneficence of government. Whilst I was at Cadiz a poor widow came to the Hospitium to procure her five children to be received. However, to prevent abuses, each *Alcalde de Barrio* (commissary of the quarter) was obliged to present, weekly, to the governor of the province, an account of all the persons, of both sexes, who in his quarter were in need of the succours of charity, and intitled to receive them. The governor examined the statement, and wrote his directions in the margin. He has often boasted, with an air of satisfaction, in which benevolence was as strongly depicted as self-approbation, that in the seventeen divisions of which Cadiz was composed, there were already fourteen, in which not one person who had a difficulty in gaining a livelihood, or was deprived of the succours which

might render life supportable, was then to be found; and that in a little time he flattered himself with the hopes of entirely banishing idleness and misery from the city. The good order constantly maintained in this institution was the fruit of his continued inspection. He passed there the greatest part of most of his afternoons; he was well seconded by several citizens of distinction who, some from sentiments of humanity, and others to make their court to him, distributed among themselves the direction of the different apartments. Their presence seemed to inspire respect and confidence. The serenity that reigned in every countenance distinguished this charitable institution from most of the same kind, which, in general, present the image of confinement and wretchedness. Prostitutes and the insane are the only persons deprived of liberty. Individuals of every other class go out in companies at certain hours. None but the aged and infirm are exempt from labour. Such as are

capable

capable of working are mostly employed in carding, spinning, and weaving the cotton imported from the colonies of America. In the month of September, 1785, there were more looms, &c. than hands to employ them. I saw a warehouse full of stuffs manufactured within the establishment; these were sufficient to the consumption of its inhabitants, and the governor had hopes that in a little time there would be a surplus, which would be another source of revenue to the institution. When the count O'Reilly became governor, he saw the hopes of his predecessor realized, and added to this new revenue by the sale of certain pieces of ground belonging to the city. The charity of the citizens also produces considerable contributions.

I left the Hospitium, which in so many respects deserves our highest commendation, full of the greatest admiration, which it would be impossible to express with too much warmth, might we be-

flow so much praise on a man in disgrace. I doubt not but the post of the count O'Reilly has been worthily filled in every respect; but will his successors be generous enough to carry to the greatest degree of improvement, an institution of which they have neither had the pleasure nor the merit to have been the founders?

The inhabitants of Cadiz are almost exclusively employed in commerce; this will easily be believed on observing the number of vessels in the port, which commonly amount to six or seven hundred: though when I was in that city the number did not exceed three hundred. The bay is so spacious that there are moorings for the different vessels according to their various destinations. The merchant ships, from the different ports of Europe, are anchored opposite the city. The whole space which separates them from the bank of the river is covered with numerous barks, boats, &c. continually employed. The vessels for the Indian trade

ships are anchored more to the east, in the canal of Trocadero, formed by an island seen at low water; the entrance of the Trocadero is defended by two forts; the fire from which crosses those of the Puntal; one is the fort Matagordo, the other that of Saint Louis, built by Duguay-Trouin.

The handsome town of Saint Real is built at the further end of the canal; and the magazines, arsenals, and dock-yards for merchant ships are on the banks. A merchant dug a basin there, and had so calculated the dimensions as rendered it incapable of receiving any vessels but merchantmen. However, when I was at Cadiz, it had just been purchased of him for the king, and preparations were making to form another not far from the same place.

The ships of the royal navy are anchored towards the east side of the Bay, near the arsenals and magazines. The great space these occupy, and which
land

land and sea dispute with each other, is known by the name of the *Carraque*. The court of Spain, from a precaution often eluded, always useless, and which only serves to create suspicions unfavourable to the navy of Spain, rigorously excludes all strangers from the *Carraque*. I endeavoured to obtain an exception in my favour, but the governor sent me for answer, that he could not grant my request without a formal order from the king. I found means to do without it; I went to the isle of Leon, a considerable city, long, open, and well built, on the east side of the Bay, and the seat of the marine department. From this city, across an arm of the sea, to the *Carraque* is about a quarter of a league. I went in company with one of those curious persons, before whom all impediments vanish, and we visited, at our leisure, all the arsenals, and remarked what they contained in sails, cordage, cables, anchors, arms, ship-timber, masts and rigging. I was particularly pleased with the rope-yard and the lodgings of the galley-

galley-slaves; the building is six hundred yards long, and has as good an appearance as that of Brest. Although this work was only begun in 1777, great progress has already been made in it: intelligent persons, who had compared the cordage and cables of the principal dock-yards and magazines in Europe, assured me, that in this respect the navy of Spain was not in the least inferior to any; that the cordage was better made and more durable, because, in combing the hemp, all the towy part we leave in it was taken out, and made use of in caulking, whence results the double advantage of more solid cordage and the better caulking of vessels. Another custom in our rope-yards, which the Spaniards have avoided adopting, is the tarring the cordage and keeping it a long time piled up. In this state the tar ferments and eats the hemp, and the cordage is extremely apt to break after being used but a short space of time.

The

The Spaniards formerly obtained their hemp from the north, at present they are able to do without the assistance, in this article, of any other nation. The kingdom of Granada already furnishes them with the greatest part of the hemp they use; and, in case of need, they may have recourse to Arragon and Navarre. All the sailcloth and cordage I saw in the magazines at Cadiz were made with Spanish hemp; and the texture of the former appeared to me even, close, and solid.

I found also in the arsenals of the Caraque, a great quantity of sheets of copper; but it was all brought from Sweden or Trieste. The Spaniards do not yet know how to refine copper well enough to use that from Mexico in bottoming their ships. Their first experiments of this kind were made at the beginning of the late war. When I left Spain, most of the Spanish frigates were copper bottomed; and preparations were making

making to sheathe all the ships of the line.

We were shewn some caronades brought from England; but more inconvenience than advantage was found in this species of cannon.

The magazines of the Carraque appeared to me but moderately provided, particularly with masts, rigging and timber. Until the present administration ships of war could neither be built nor refitted in the department of Cadiz; and, before they could be careened, it was necessary to lay them on a hulk. M. de Valdez, at that time sub-inspector of the Carraque, adopted the plan of forming there a basin; and, since he became minister of the naval department, he has been very attentive to its execution. The nature of the ground seemed to render the thing impossible; it is a kind of clay which easily sinks in, and seems to partake of the instability of the element with which it is surrounded and saturated.

rated. It was in the most elevated part that a basin was begun to be dug in August, 1785. I saw the piles driven, upon which a bed of stone was to be laid, and the minister hoped by this means to give the basin a solidity against which every impediment seemed to conspire. The engineers who directed the works scarcely dared to expect success; their purpose seemed to meet new obstacles daily: at each moment the want of consistence in the ground deceived their efforts, and betrayed its inability to support the heavy burthen intended to be laid upon it. Art and perseverance, at length, triumphed over every difficulty, and in the year 1787, instead of one basin at the Carraque, there were two for the building of vessels of sixty-four guns.

I went on board some of those lying at anchor, and greatly admired their beauty and solidity. It is impossible to repress a sigh on seeing these superb works of human industry, when we reflect that
their

their principal destination is to become the instruments and victims of a rapid and violent destruction, as if to annihilate them the ravages of time and the rage of winds and waves were not sufficient: Thus man, the sublimest creation of Nature, and whose faculties expand so slowly, after having caused so much solicitude to the authors of his existence, is frequently snatched from their tenderness by some of the accidents to which he is perpetually exposed, and which his passions have multiplied an hundred fold.

From the Carraque we returned by a road which engaged our attention. As we leave Cadiz, it is a quarter of a league wide, but afterwards becomes so narrow that at the distance of a league the tide washes the two sides of the causeway, which seems to be boldly elevated above the abyss of the ocean. The present causeway is another advantage for which Cadiz is indebted to count O'Reilly. He had confided this undertaking

taking to M. du Bournial, an engineer well versed in the art of constructing bridges and causeways, whom he had sent for from France to employ him in his military school of Port Saint Mary. M. du Bournial has raised this road, and rendered it more solid; his success gained him the acknowledgments of the city of Cadiz, and new marks of confidence in his talents.

M. Bournial was the person whom, in 1785, O'Reilly wished to charge with the execution of a project, which could not but seduce the imagination of this governor, who, it is said, is fonder of the wonderful* than of the public good. His object was to bring fresh water to Cadiz from the distance of eleven leagues. He and the engineer had calculated that

* I had added some other restrictions to the eulogium of this officer; I learned the particulars of them in Louisiana, on the coast of Barbary and elsewhere. I afterwards heard of his disgrace, and suppressed them entirely.

for two millions of piaſtres this apparent miracle might be performed; and in Auguſt, 1785, the count had received ſubſcriptions to the amount of one million two hundred thouſand piaſtres. I heard the pompous project diſcuſſed with great impartiality. Thoſe who approved of it reaſoned in this manner: a ſpring of freſh water is an article of the firſt neceſſity, eſpecially to a rich and populous city, which, like Cadiz, daily increaſes in both theſe reſpects. The water brought with ſo much labour from the fountains of Port Saint Mary, but imperfectly ſupplies the want of it in the city: in dry ſeaſons it has ſometimes been found inſufficient for the neceſſities of the inhabitants. Why ſhould this important city be longer expoſed to a ſcarcity ſo diſtreſſful, when it might be ſecured from it at a trifling increaſe of expence? The city annually pays ninety-fix thouſand piaſtres for the precarious ſupply from the fountains of Saint Mary. No more than a ſum not exceeding two millions of piaſtres, that is, a capital, the

interest of which, at five per cent. is a hundred thousand piaſtres, was required to procure it, an uninterrupted plenty. The moſt ſordid œconomy could make no objection to an expence of four thouſand piaſtres for a purpoſe of ſuch eſſential utility. Such is the queſtion conſidered with reſpect to the expence: let us now, ſaid the favourers of the plan, examine it in a political point of view.

According to the preſent ſyſtem of Europe, and the cloſe connexion between France and Spain, Cadiz is of the greateſt importance in the naval wars of thoſe powers: their fleets intended to act in concert in any foreign expedition muſt rendezvous at that port. Muſt it not therefore be abſolutely neceſſary to render the victualling, watering, &c. of ſuch fleets as eaſy and expeditious as poſſible? The canal would be highly ſerviceable for the latter purpoſe; inſtead of which, ſhips ready to ſail have often, during the war, been delayed twenty-

twenty-four hours, waiting to take in their water from Port Saint Mary.

The project besides would not be difficult to carry into execution. M. Bournial had surveyed and taken the levels of the eleven leagues which the canal was to pass; his plans were all finished; he had calculated the extent within a fathom, and the expence to a piastre. He had discovered the traces of an old canal, dug by the Romans for the same purpose; and the bed of this might in a great measure be rendered of use to the new project, the completion of which would not be expensive for above two leagues. Ought not the Romans, so superior in many respects to modern nations, sometimes to serve them as a model, and, among the latter, were any people more worthy than the Spaniards of being immortalized by their great and useful undertakings?

The opponents considered the project of the governor as one of those splendid

but chimerical conceptions seducing to ardent imaginations, but in adopting which prudent persons are ever extremely cautious. Cadiz, said they, had, until then, received the fresh water necessary to the wants of the inhabitants from the fountains in the neighbourhood; why therefore should it now be procured at a greater expence, when the supply, although brought thither with more art and labour, would not be more certain? It was well known what reliance ought to be placed on an estimate of an undertaking so vast and complicated. Who would answer that the author of the project would be well supported? That he would not be disgusted with the obstacles of every kind which he must meet? or that death might not surprise him before the completion of his work? Supposing even that he finished the undertaking, who could say the stream from the spring, represented as inexhaustible, might not be obstructed in its course by some one of a thousand accidents to which the ground it was to be

be carried through, and the stone aqueduct by which it was to be conveyed must be exposed? We allow these accidents may be provided against or repaired; but besides that this constant vigilance is, as all will allow, an equivocal basis, upon which the supply of a great city, with an article so necessary, ought never to rest, the inhabitants would experience short interruptions in the running of the water; and from that moment the benefit would become still more precarious than that with which they had before been contented.

I was certainly an impartial hearer; but I saw, with concern, that the question was in turns decided by partiality and prejudice, by adulation and jealousy, by a blind fondness of novelty, and a still blinder hatred to innovation. Thus it happens that projects are never weighed in any country by unbiassed reason, the passions of men constantly infeeble their judgment, and he who prides himself in

the estimation of the public, is frequently influenced without knowing it by some disgraceful motive. Genius undertakes, constancy only executes, overcomes obstacles, and deprives fortune of her caprice, and envy of its forked tongue. I know not what is become of the noble project of count O'Reilly since his retirement from office, or whether it will be numbered among the few which survive their authors? May we hope that some generous citizen will be found who, adopting the bantling deserted in the cradle, will generously bestow on it the cares of a father.

An account of the commerce of Cadiz would alone furnish sufficient matter for a considerable work, and consequently exceed the bounds I must prescribe to mine. I shall therefore add but little, to what I have already said, of the trade of Spain in general.

An idea may be formed of that of Cadiz, by knowing the number of vessels

vessels which annually enter and sail from that port. This knowledge may easily be acquired by the list printed every week, as in all the great sea-ports of Europe. In 1776, nine hundred and forty-nine ships from different ports entered that of Cadiz, of which two hundred and sixty-five were French. In 1777, there entered nine hundred and thirty-five vessels, two hundred and eighty of which were belonging to France.

The war which happened soon after slackened this activity, but the number of French ships entering Cadiz appeared in 1785, rather to have increased than diminished. Formerly no French vessel from any port more to the north than that of Calais arrived at Cadiz. Lately several have been dispatched to Hamburgh and Amsterdam, and refreighted for Cadiz. To the advantages which already gave us some right to preference, we began to add that of navigating at almost as little expence as the Dutch;

but it seems we shall not long enjoy these favourable circumstances.

The ports of France which have commercial connexions with Cadiz, are those of Marseilles, Havre, Rouen, Morlaix, Saint Malo, Bayonne, Bourdeaux, Nantes and Saint Valery. I have named them in succession according to the degrees of intercourse which they maintain with Cadiz; merchandize is annually sent thither from Marseilles to the amount of twelve millions of French money (five hundred thousand pounds sterling) of which silks and gold laces are the principal articles. The greatest part of the cargoes sent thither from Havre and Rouen consist of woollens; and those from Morlaix and Saint Malo, in linens; the sales of which will hereafter be diminished by the competition of those from Silesia, since, notwithstanding our remonstrances, we have for some time been deprived of the advantages we in this respect enjoyed. Linens are also a principal article in the few importations

tions from Nantes. Flour and bacon are the principal commodities sent from Bordeaux and Bayonne, and the woolens of Amiens the chief contributions of Saint Valery.

The people who most abound at Cadiz are, first the Irish, and next the Flemings, Genoese and Germans. The English and Dutch are not numerous. There are many Frenchmen, but more among the workmen of every kind, and retail dealers, than among the merchants. There are, however, several commercial houses equally respectable for their unimpeached reputation, great capitals, and extensive credit. In proof of this assertion, it will only be necessary to mention the names of *Le Couteulx*, *De Magon*, and several other distinguished houses which divide their property and speculations between Cadiz and their own country, and of which the individuals, after having advantageously passed several years at Cadiz, return to enjoy, in the bosom of their families, an affluence they have so well earned.

This

This species of colonists is truly valuable, and cannot be attached by too many ties to the mother country, which they doubly enrich by favouring the sale of her productions, and returning to her loaded with the fruits of their useful industry. They form at Cadiz a society which has its funds, assemblies and privileges, but to which the Spanish government has lately, from a jealousy perhaps excusable, created many difficulties.

The French are not the only objects of this suspicious conduct, nor is it confined to Cadiz. All foreigners who are established at Cadiz and in other commercial places of Spain, ought to enjoy particular privileges, which date from the period when the passive state of Spain relative to commerce, made it necessary to purchase by sacrifices the aid of their capitals and industry; but since the kingdom is awakened from its stupor, and that each citizen knowing his personal resources, says to himself
with

with a satisfaction which success already justifies, *ed io anche son pittore**, he feels the yoke Spain imposed on herself in less happy times; and the agents of government, sure of a tacit approbation, employ, to shake it off, such means as the rights of persons do not quite approve of, and against which foreign merchants make complaints, sometimes exaggerated; these means will in the end be sanctified by continued infractions on one side, and forced condescension on the other, by which treaties will fall into disuse without ever being formerly abolished. For it is upon treaties that the privileges of foreign merchants established in Spain are founded. The most ancient treaty is that concluded with the Hans Towns, and which served as a model to those with the English, Dutch and French. The French, in general, more restless and exacting than other nations, whose activity and success sooner awaken

* The exclamation of Corregio—"And I too am a painter."

jealousy, in whom the power of using is so near to abuse, who know not how to flatter the weakness of those with whom they are connected, are more exposed to that kind of secret persecution which foreign commerce experiences from the Spanish government. Their griefs become accumulated; their representations are eluded by excuse or totally disregarded, and reparation is very rare or unsatisfactory. As in society men preserve their ill-humour and rigorous proceedings for their best friends, whilst their attention is bestowed upon indifferent persons, because from the former they have nothing more to gain, and they may lose by the latter; so the Spaniards use, with respect to their allies, a severity which they know how to soften to those with whom they are not so nearly connected. The national character may also account for this difference. The most intimate connexions between courts are not sufficient to cement national friendship; and those which policy would unite are frequently
sepa-

separated by Nature. There are people whose manners are less contrasted to those of the Spaniards than ours; and these, in spite of treaties, and regulations will ever have the preference.

This is the text I frequently heard commented upon whilst I was in Spain, and especially at Cadiz. I only relate the fact, without ornamenting, or rather disfiguring it, by the colours of resentment. I am almost arrived at the end of my work, and am determined to finish with that spirit of conciliation which induced me to take up my pen. Let us hope that lasting connexions, a reciprocity of generous communication, and particularly the consideration of interest, the first spring in politics as well as society, will conciliate and unite the characters of two nations which are so intimately connected with each other, and moderate the reciprocal grievances of which I have just given a slight sketch.

It

It appears, however, that the commerce of the French, as well as that of other foreigners at Cadiz, approaches its decline. As a proof of this, I might mention several bankruptcies from misfortune, the withdrawing of several merchants, the discouragement of most of them, and the recent diminution of the number of French vessels trading to Cadiz. This revolution was not wholly produced by the causes I have just indicated; it is also the consequence of the extension of the commerce of the Spanish Indies to several other ports of the kingdom of Spain, of the activity of the Spanish merchants, excited by the wise measures of government, and of the recent part which some of the colonies have taken in a commerce in which they had for a long time been but passive instruments. Such is the fate of nations. The prosperity of one almost constantly enfeebles another. The best of all worlds would be that in which national successes were so balanced that war, the human passions
and

and revolutions in empires, could not derange the equilibrium. The world which we inhabit seems in this respect essentially different.

The occupations which commerce offers to those who inhabit Cadiz leave but few hands to industry. There are, however, about twenty ribbon looms and machines for knotting silk, none of which are much employed, and yet appear to have a considerable sale for their produce. There are several manufacturers at Cadiz, whose chief employment is to apply their marks to the embroidered stockings they receive from Nîmes, and which, having undergone this ceremony, are shipped for the American colonies, where all foreign stockings are prohibited. Industry makes some efforts in the cities near Cadiz. There are at Port Saint Mary, the Isle of Leon, and at Xeres linen manufactures which are in a flourishing state. No linens but these and those of Catalonia can be shipped for the Indies; but
to

to judge how far the law is eluded it will be sufficient to compare the quantity exported with that the manufacturers can furnish. Cadiz is the real seat of fraud; and this will continually be the case wherever prohibitions are numerous, temptations to elude them frequent, and the profits considerable enough to be divided with those who, having but a moderate salary to prevent smuggling, find their account in favouring it. This is chiefly exercised upon pistres, to elude the duty of four per cent. to which their exportation is subject; and the smugglers find the officers much more disposed to convey them on board than to confiscate them. This abuse was carried to the highest degree when I was at Cadiz. The zeal of the new minister of finances became warm; a commission of magistrates was suddenly sent to Madrid to examine into it, and proceed against the authors. The examination was conducted with all the impartiality of justice. The fraud and speculation of the officers of the revenue were

were proved and punished. The custom-house of Cadiz underwent a total reformation; to *treacherous and corrupt* agents were substituted *heros of integrity*. Every thing was to be restored to order; smuggling was to expire under the stroke of authority and the eyes of vigilance; but these flattering expectations proved deceitful. Smuggling is a plant fast rooted in the soil wherein it is naturalized; in vain is it plucked from the ground; roots which have escaped the vindictive hand of justice soon shoot forth new suckers. Those who follow smuggling, like the rabbits of M. de la Rochefoucault, retire and conceal themselves in the critical moment. As soon as that is past presumptuous audacity returns to its old habits, and interest renews its claims. Wherever this is as powerful as at Cadiz, conscience is silent; and the *heros of integrity*, encouraged by the hope of impunity, and excused by example, soon become as relaxed in their principles as their predecessors. Authority supposes it has formed virtuous men, when it has

only sacrificed victims, which are first pitied and afterwards imitated.

But to return to the industry of Cadiz and the environs. At Port Saint Mary there is a wax refinery, through which all the wax sent to America must pass; it is, however, so badly purified and whitened there, that the merchants, pressed to ship that which they receive from the north, chearfully pay to the officers of the refinery the two ducats at which each quintal whitened in it is taxed, and send it in the same state in which it was received there.

I must remark upon this occasion, that the Spaniards of the Havannah were, a few years ago, upon the point of gathering wax enough for the whole consumption of Spanish America. They owed this new production to a singular circumstance, and have lately lost it by another not less extraordinary. When Florida was ceded to the English, in 1763, some Spanish colonists flying before

fore the conquerors, and carrying with them their treasures and their industry, had retired to the island of Cuba, and taken with them bee-hives, the bees of which had considerably increased and gave excellent wax; they were accustomed to the climate and seemed to be settled in the island; but they found in Cuba other persecutors. The colonists of the Havannah, alarmed by the injuries they did to their sugar plantations, lighted up fires to drive them off. This remedy succeeded so well that the island of Cuba, forsaken by the bees, has disappointed the hopes all Spanish America had from it, and the colonies are again obliged to depend on Poland and Barbary for their supply of wax. The rage of conquest would certainly not long continue could the riches of the soil always thus escape through the air from the avarice of the conquerors?

The manufacture of salt is the most interesting branch of industry in the environs of Cadiz. The salt-pits encom-

pass a great part of the Bay from the Puntal to Port Saint Mary. I acquired some accurate information relative to the manner of working them; which may be compared to the mode adopted in our salt-marshes.

In the first place, sea water is introduced, by means of a little sluice, into a large kind of basin, cut into wide canals of equal depth. The water remains there a certain time, during which, its lightest parts evaporate by the heat of the sun. From this first reservoir it runs into other canals not quite so deep, where the same cause produces the same effect, volatilizing the lighter parts. The corrosive quality of the water which remains after this second operation is so increased, that the workmen can no longer remain with their feet uncovered without burning them as with aqua fortis. The water, thus changed, is let into a long and narrow canal, which runs by the side of a square space, divided into quadrangular compartments, the

the inner of which is lower than those at the edges. From this canal, where the water, passing through a third operation, becomes still more corrosive, it is thrown with scoops into the small basons where it receives the last heating, while the workmen continually stir it with long rakes. The sediment it deposes becomes as hard as stone, and the workmen are constantly employed in detaching, taking it out, and pounding it. This continual agitation produces upon the surface a white scum, that is carefully taken off, and which produces a much whiter, but a weaker, salt than the sediment. The rest is laid in great heaps in the open air. The necessary quantity for the king's salt magazines is taken from these heaps, and paid for at the rate of two piastras the last of two hogheads; but it is sold again at a hundred and twenty piastras to individuals, excepting fishermen who have it cheaper. The salt manufacturers sell what remains to them, after furnishing the king's magazines, more or less dear according

to circumstances ; and as the rains of the autumn threaten them with considerable waste, they lose no time in felling ; and, far from giving the law to purchasers, they solicit orders from persons who buy for exportation. The nations which carry it are Sweden, Denmark, Holland, England, and particularly Portugal, until lately, when the fear of the Algerine corsairs discredited their flag. The cargoes shipped by the Portuguese are mostly sent to the coasts of Galicia and Asturia, where this commodity is wanted, and which they have long had the exclusive privilege of furnishing with their own salt. The fishermen from Saint Malo, Dieppe and Granville sometimes go to the Bay of Cadiz to take in cargoes of salt for Newfoundland ; and, when the salt-pits of France fail, the French take large quantities of it for home consumption,

Every individual who wishes to establish one of these artificial salt-pits upon ground of his own is at liberty to do it.
He

He may sell the produce to foreigners, but not to his countrymen, salt being in Spain, as in France, exclusively sold for the king's account. Guards are placed round the heaps of salt, which at a distance appear like so many white houses about the Bay; but the guards do not always secure them from thieves and smugglers.

Cadiz contains but few remarkable edifices or monuments of the arts. The cultivation of these supposes two classes of indolent people, which are never numerous in commercial and manufacturing cities; the class of professors and that of *amateurs*. Arts prosper in proportion to the number of connoisseurs who encourage and support them. The cathedral of Cadiz was begun in 1720. Whenever it is finished it will be but a heavy mass, defective in many respects. The grotesque mouldings of the Gothic architecture are joined to the simple taste of the ancient orders; however, some of the interior parts are beautiful. The

eight columns of the choir are of Torsian marble of the first quality; those of the nave, although a little heavy, are beautiful in their proportions. Their capitals, vases, and the ceiling of the cupolas, are excellently sculptured.

Until the new cathedral is finished, divine service is performed in the old one, in which I remarked several little paintings in the Flemish style, and in a good taste. There are a few much more valuable in the church of the capuchins. They are the master-pieces of Murillo; among them is an *Ecce homo*, in which the soft touch of that artist seemed to me to be united with the noble sublimity which Guido knew so well how to give to his figures.

Among other edifices deserving attention are the custom-house, a new and spacious building, and the theatre, which is finished with taste and on an excellent plan.

Cadiz

Cadiz is surrounded with walls, which contribute more to its embellishment than to its defence. The fortifications on the side of the land gate are in a tolerable good condition. It is the only place where the city can be attacked by land. Fort Saint Catharine, to the north-east, would not obstruct the entrance into the great Bay; nor would Fort Saint Sebastian, which is rather more to the west, be of greater service in its defence. It communicates with the city by an uneven sandy shore covered at high water; the light-house which directs mariners when they enter the port, is placed upon the tower of this fort,

The passage from the great Bay to the road of the Puntal, is much better defended by two forts, one that of the Puntal, the other that of Matagordo, placed opposite each other, where the Bay becomes narrower.

I crossed

I crossed this kind of freight, and, quitting Cadiz with the regret every person who has passed some time in that city must feel on the same occasion, I embarked for Chiclana with some merchants who had treated me with the greatest civility. I there experienced, for the second time in Spain, that it is from this class of men, all things equal in other respects, that the best reception is to be expected. Easy circumstances, multiplicity of connexions, and perhaps the necessity felt at every moment of cultivating or augmenting them (for what virtue is it that interest does not adulterate by its impure alloy ?) seem to have bestowed on this class of men more than any other those precious social qualities, affability and obliging manners. These I met with, to the greatest degree, from the foreign and Spanish merchants, but more particularly from the French.

The French consul, M. de Mongelas, was not then at Cadiz : I was sorry for it ; and still more so to observe, that he
was

was heavily censured. I had found an opportunity to become acquainted with his excellent qualities, and should have imagined that these, added to the amiableness of his lady, would have mitigated the rigour of the persons who seemed to think most harshly of him. In his absence I was received by M. Poi-rel, the vice-consul; and I can never sufficiently acknowledge the attention I received from him, and all with whom he was connected. In general, there are few cities so agreeable as Cadiz, even to those frivolous and contemptuous persons of the French nation, who believe that once out of their country they can only vegetate. The agreeable and amiable qualities of the fair sex renders a residence at Cadiz delightful; the ladies possess, to a very uncommon degree, the pleasing exterior of the Andalusians, modified by the society of strangers, who are there found in great numbers, and by that general desire to please, which the refinements of society and a concourse of admirers maintain in continual activity.

tivity. They, however, seldom are betrayed into those immoralities which their charms, the perpetual adulation to which they are exposed, and the influence of climate might perhaps excuse more here than in other countries. I remarked several young and handsome women entirely occupied in household cares and the education of their children.

Pleasures are not much varied at Cadiz. During some years there was a French comedy, which a reprehensible administration suppressed in 1778. The only theatre at present is the national one, which rivals those of the capital, and sometimes is enriched by their losses. The situation of the city, which is but of a middling extent for a population of eighty thousand inhabitants, and which the sea almost surrounds, renders the pleasures of public walks but very few. At a quarter of a league from the land gate, sterility again appears, and continues for several leagues round, if a few kitchen gardens and some orchards in
the

the neighbourhood of the isle of Leon, where waterings supply the want of moisture in the sandy dryness of the soil, be excepted. The bull-fights are exhibited in the hottest months of the year. Cadiz is still one of the few cities in Spain whence they have not been banished, and it is not that in which the people are least delighted with them.

The distance from Cadiz to Chiclana is four leagues: a favourable wind with the tide carried us over in two hours. Leaving the isle of Leon to the right, and the Carraque to the left, we passed the bridge of Suaço, an ancient monument of the Romans, that joins the island on which Cadiz stands on the north side, and the isle of Leon on the south-east, to the Continent. Under the arches of this bridge the Bay becomes so narrow that, after passing them, it is nothing more than a wide canal, which soon afterwards separates into different branches. One of these leads to Chiclana, which is built on the right bank, commanded by
several

several eminences, and particularly by the ruins of an old Moorish castle. This branch of the canal is affected by the tide, so that sometimes there is sufficient water to cary large barks, and at others it is fordable.

Chiclana is a handsome village, where several merchants of Cadiz have country-houses. They have embellished and surrounded them with that verdure of which they are deprived in their chief residences. They frequently retire to them for relaxation from business; but Chiclana is particularly agreeable in the spring and autumn. The citizens of Cadiz carry thither, and enjoy for a time, all the luxuries of Cadiz; dinners, suppers, balls, concerts, all the display of opulence, and every ornament of the toilette; it is, if I may so say, a theatre opened by luxury and taste, in which the polite and amiable display their charms, smoothe the brows of the calculators who accompany them, and generously bestowing unnumbered pleasures oblige them
to

to confess that there are things more precious than gold.

I went to the eminences which command this little valley of Tempe, whence we survey the most extensive and varied horizon. We see in one view the isle of Leon, Cadiz, the Bay, all the places by which it is surrounded, and the sea beyond it. The eye follows the course of the river Santi Petri till it falls into the sea. Turning to the east we perceive Medina Sidonia, whence comes the wind so dreaded by the inhabitants of Cadiz, because it seems, by its pernicious influence upon many of the people, to blow into that city both crimes and disorders. From the same point of view we embrace the vast plains of the south part of Andalusia, which I had to pass in my way to Algeiras and Gibraltar.

Algeiras is fourteen leagues from Chiclana. I performed the journey on the same horse in one hot day of summer, crossing the most desert country
that

that can be found amongst those which are not quite uncultivated. Indeed I crossed plains, to avoid circuits, which would have led me through some villages. But will it be credited that in all this road, except Vejer on the right at a considerable distance, and Medina Sidonia on the left still farther off, I saw no other human habitations than four or five groupes of miserable cabins, called *Cortijos*, in which labourers lodge a part of the year. This is the inconvenience of great possessions, of which the ancients, if we believe Plutarch and Pliny, were well aware, and on the subject of which modern politicians have endeavoured to mislead us by presenting us the exception for the rule. A more modern author says that, “Conquerors always
 “ have found very feeble resistance in
 “ countries divided into great posses-
 “ sions.” It appears that the south part of Andalusia will not be long a prey to them; but in the mean while, two scourges, idleness and famine, pollute, by their presence, a tract of country
 which

which nature had produced in a moment of beneficence. It will scarcely be believed that I was nearly wanting bread in crossing this province. I had neglected to provide myself with it at Chiclana. But I fortunately met in the fields some civil reapers, who permitted me to take half their provisions.

For ten leagues I crossed the duchy of Medina-Sidonia which, in this district, consists of corn fields and pastures. In no part of them was a vestige of an human habitation. Not an orchard, kitchen garden, ditch nor tile. The great proprietor seems to reign there like the lion in the forests, by driving away by his roarings those by whom he might otherwise be approached; and both therefore alike reign over deserts. Instead of men and women, I met with seven or eight great herds of horned cattle and some troops of mares. On seeing them free from the yoke and bridle, wandering over an immense region unbounded to the eye by enclosure or

barrier, we are ready to imagine ourselves in the first ages of the world, when animals in a state of independence, divided with man the dominion of the earth, found every where their own property, and were not that of any person.

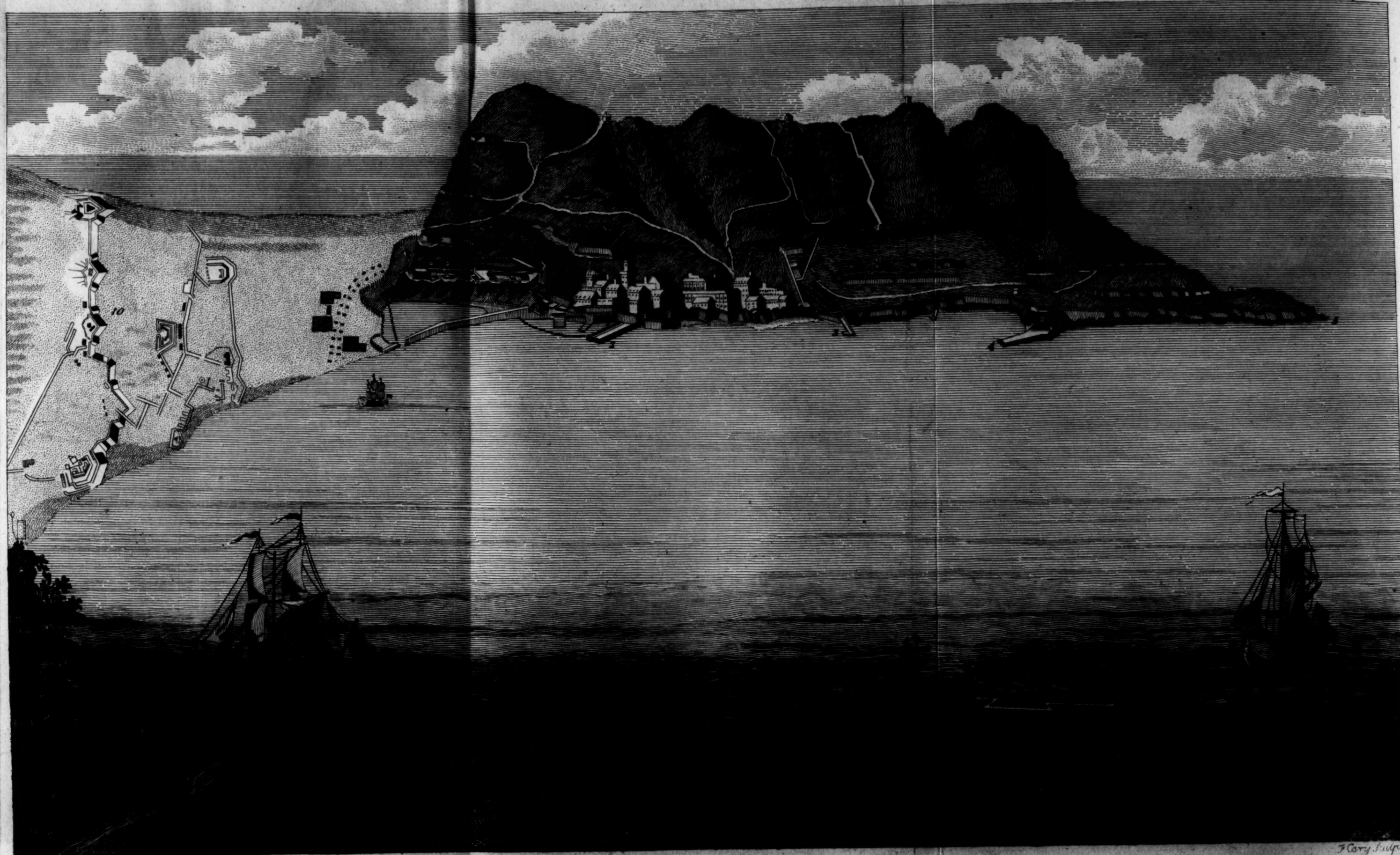
All Andalusia, however, must not be judged of by this district ; it appears not so much a desert except in parts wholly set apart to corn and pasturage. It has been divided into great possessions as far back as the conquest of it by the Moors. The principal Castilian nobleman, who then accompanied the conquering kings, obtained enormous inheritances in perpetuity, according to the fatal custom introduced into almost the whole of the monarchy. The extinction of males in the great families has encreased the inconvenience. Rich heiresses carry with them their opulent portions into families not less opulent, so that this absurd law of succession is, if I may use the expression, a vast tontine which sooner or later will make the greatest .

greatest part of Spain the inheritance of the few families which shall survive the rest. How can one individual manage such estates? These proprietors, therefore, farm them out to different persons, but this for three years only, or five at most; too short a term to permit the former to undertake the clearing of lands or any considerable improvement. Another circumstance concurs with these destructive customs to prevent agriculture flourishing in Andalusia. The land is divided into three portions; one is cultivated, another remains fallow, and the third is set apart to feed the cattle belonging to the farmer, and which he augments as much as possible, to reap what advantage he can from his short lease. This is what gives an appearance of depopulation to vast districts susceptible of rich cultivation. The first improvement to be made in the agriculture of Andalusia, would therefore be to grant longer leases. The example of Catalonia, Navarre, Galicia, and the Asturias should serve as a lesson. There

the leases are for a considerable number of years, and cannot be broken by the caprice of the proprietors: every kind of cultivation is in a flourishing state; each farmer creates himself a little establishment, keeps cattle, and has round his habitation an orchard and kitchen garden; and while he procures himself conveniences, improves and fertilises the land which he is sure to hold for a long time, as well as to be succeeded in his farm by his children. What a contrast between this state of things, and that I had before my eyes for ten leagues after leaving Chiclana!

At the end of these ten leagues the road lay through a wood, and afterwards across an enormous chain of high mountains, which become not lower before they reach the western part of the bay of Gibraltar. The four last leagues are excessively fatiguing, and even dangerous in some places. However, the traveller is well rewarded for his pains when, from the summit of the mountains, a league and a half

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1. City of Gibraltar.
2. The Old Mole.
3. The Mole of the Aigade.

4. New Mole.
5. Europa Point.
6. Gate to the Land.

VIEW of GIBRALTAR.

7. Gate to the Sea.
8. Algeiras.

9. Isle of Algeiras.
10. Camp of St. Roch.

J. Cary. Sculp.

a half from the bay, he perceives the famous rock of Gibraltar rising from the bosom of the waves like the genius of the stormy Cape, which furnished to Camoens one of the finest episodes in his *Lusiad*. From this point, the eye commands the fortrefs, the outlines of which appeared to me perfectly well defined in the serene horizon. The rock presents the form of an immense Catafalco seen on one side; at one view the eye embraces the town of Algeſiras, the whole circuit of the Bay, two little rivers which fall into it, the town of Saint Roche, placed upon an eminence, the ſlope which from this town leads to the lines, and the tongue of flat and narrow land, that ſeparates them from Gibraltar; and at a diſtance to the right, at the extremity of the horizon, we imagine, rather than diſcover, the coaſt of Africa.

Algeſiras, the boundary of my long day's journey, is a town agreeably ſituated on a gentle ſlope cloſe by the ſea ſide. A very little river (the Miel) which riſes

in the neighbouring mountains, washes the right side of Algeiras, and gently runs on into the sea; upon its right bank is a little dock yard, the dimensions of which, although proportioned to the bed of the river, are sufficient for the building of barks. It was made use of for the construction of some of the gun-boats which made so poor a figure at the siege of Gibraltar. At the time of the freshes, this river, or rather rivulet, has water enough to float the little vessels to the sea, which is distant but a few paces. Near this place are the ruins of the old citadel of Algeiras, whence the Moors still defended themselves for some time after their city was taken. This filled the same ground as the modern town of the same name. Algeiras, as well as Saint Roche, was peopled at the beginning of the present century with Spaniards from Gibraltar, who would not live under the dominion of the English. In order to draw thither the refugees, the privileges Algeiras now enjoys were granted. The Spaniards are separated from

from their old country by two leagues of sea, in which, during the late war, several of them found their tombs, while endeavouring the conquest of the native place of their forefathers.

The little island of Palomas, called also the Green Island, is within a musket shot of Algeiras : it has a fort in which a company detached from the garrison of Algeiras does duty. This Island is so fine and regular, that it seems to have been traced by art, and placed there until some person of taste can find a situation for it in a garden.

Algeiras is watered in a manner which seems to be reserved for important places. Water is brought to it from the distance of a quarter of a league by a new aqueduct built with hewn stone.

A packet boat sails twice a week from this town to Ceuta, a Spanish sea port, at five leagues distance, on the coast of Africa. This voyage is often made in

three or four hours, but it sometimes takes up nine or ten : the passage is five reals ; no great sum to be transported from one quarter of the world to another ; a traveller is easily tempted to make the trip. Particular circumstances, however, prevented me from so far gratifying my inclination.

The little port of Algesiras is very confined in speculations of commerce ; it receives some cargoes of corn and brandy by Catalonian barks ; and its exportations chiefly consist in coal from the neighbouring mountains which is sent to Cadiz.

A great part of the two leagues from Algesiras to Saint Roche, is by the side of the Bay. There are two little rivers which fall into it to be crossed in boats, *El Rio de los Pulmones* and the Guaraipe, which might be taken for an arm of the sea. After passing the latter, you leave the Bay and gain the back part of the hill upon which the ill paved town of Saint

Saint Roche is situated. The late war, which in part had its seat in the neighbourhood, and the presence of a numerous garrison seem not to have enriched it: the environs are agreeable, and the adjoining hills are carefully cultivated.

At Saint Roche I was addressed to an aid-major of the place, an Irishman (Mr. James Lyons) a man of understanding and considerable knowledge, whose name my gratitude has obliged me to mention. He obtained from the commander of the lines, permission for me to approach Gibraltar as near as the recent and rigorous order which prevented all communication between that place and the Spanish continent would permit. We set off from Saint Roche, on horseback, about four o'clock; and left Buenavista to the right. This is a large house upon an eminence, in which the duke de Crillon, his aides-de-camp, and all their retinue were lodged, and whence they had a view of Gibraltar, the two seas and
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the coast of Africa. At length we arrived on the ground of the two famous camps of Saint Roche. Destroyed by peace, as other things are by war, it presented nothing but a heap of ruins and some broken walls, but neither a roof nor window. This theatre, of the most profound silence and solitude, after having, during four years, been that of the tumult accompanying armies, and of death which follows their motions, presented me a sufficient subject for reflection on the vicissitudes of all human affairs. We crossed this ground diagonally to go straight to the Mediterranean, and follow the coast to Fort Saint Barbe which forms the right of the lines: we ascended them as far as the principal guard, where we presented the order of the commander, and the great gate, which leads to the lines before Gibraltar, was opened to us: a petty officer was sent to watch rather than direct our motions. Immediately on going out we found the long trench planned by M. d'Arçon, and opened in the night of
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the 15th of July 1782; it proceeded from the center of the line, passed under the fire of the places and terminated at the Mediterranean. We were afterwards shewn the trenches and epaulement thrown up by general Alvarez, and which were so much spoken of in the gazettes of Madrid; the sight of them infused a small portion of sarcasm into my philanthropical reflections, and made me recollect the verses some elegant idler of Paris wrote at the time, to cheer the langour of the besiegers and that of the reader of their tardy and unvaried exploits. Perhaps my reader may not be displeased at finding them here: those who are the subjects of them had at the time the generosity to laugh at the satire, and probably will not be offended at it five years afterwards.

Messieurs de Saint Roch, entre nous,

Ceci passe la raillerie.

En avez-vous là pour la vie?

Ou quelque jour finirez vous?

Ne pouvez-vous à la vaillance

Joindre le talent d'abrégé?

Votre

Votre éternelle patience
Ne se lasse point d'assiéger.
Mais vous mettez a bout la notre.
Soyez donc battants ou battus,
Messieurs, du camp & du blocus.
Terminez de façon ou d'autre ;
Terminez, car on ne tient plus,
Frequentes sont vos canonnades :
Mais hélas ! qu'ont-elles produit ?
Le tranquille Anglois dort au bruit
De vos nocturnes petarades ;
Ou s'il répond de tems en tems
A votre prudente furie,
C'est par égard, je le parie,
Et pour dire je vous entends.
Quatre ans ont dû vous rendre sages,
Laissez donc là vos vieux ouvrages,
Quittez vos vieux retranchemens :
Retirez-vous, vieux assiégeans.
Un jour ce mémorable siege
Sera fini par vos enfans,
Si toutefois Dieu les protege.
Mes amis, vous le voyez bien,
Vos bombes ne bombardent rien :
Vos pétarades, vos corvettes,
Et vos travaux & vos mineurs,
N'épouvante que les lecteurs
De vos redoutables gazettes.
Votre blocus ne bloque point ;
Et grace à votre heureuse adresse,
Ceux que vous affamez sans cesse
Ne périront que d'émbonpoint

Illustrious warriors of Saint Roche,

Believe me, this exceeds a joke :

Say, will you here remain for life,

Or one day end the gallant strife ?

Or can you not contrive to join

Dispatch to valour so divine ?

Your patience still may last, no doubt,

But ours is fairly wearied out.

Then, heroes of the long blockade,

Conclude at length your vain parade.

Th' incessant roar your batteries keep

But lulls the careless foe to sleep ;

Or if he answer you by chance,

'Tis but in common complaisance.

Your laboured works grow old, and you,

Heroic Sirs, are grown old too.

'Tis time to quit these martial cares,

And leave the business to your heirs ;

Your sons, or your sons sons, perchance,

With Spain's whole force, and aid of France,

If fortune on their labours smile,

Shall terminate the glorious toil.

Your close circumvallation lines,

And all your mortars and your mines,

Which your gazettes with pride display,

The coffee house alone dismay :

In vain you block, in vain you batter,

Those you would starve grow daily fatter ;

And, at the worst, will only die

Of corpulence and lethargy.

But

But to return to prose, and conclude what I have to say of the camp of Saint Roche. We found traces of all the works; but the sand and earth of which they were constructed had crumbled down in many places; the fascines that bound them lay heaped together and served to make fires in the few chimneys which smoke in this part of the country, or were abandoned to the slower destruction of time. We were shewn a large stone tower, called the tower of the mill, which, placed between the besiegers and the besieged, was the only thing that had escaped their combined ravages. We discovered the place where the English had made some little gardens before their fortrefs, and beyond the limits fixed by the peace of Utrecht; the inclosure was still marked with reeds; but the ground they incircled, by being restored to its real proprietors, or rather becoming neuter, had resumed its former sterility. Kings, like individuals, are never good near neighbours; and the separation of deserts is necessary to

to preserve them on terms of friendship with each other; were that the case, the earth would indeed be less inhabited; but would that on the whole be a misfortune to mankind? I hear the friends of population exclaim against the idea, and wave the enquiry to return to the works constructed by general Alvarez.

After having for sometime followed these works on the side of the Bay, and in front of the old mole, we took a diagonal direction towards the Mediterranean, to survey nearer at hand, and under different aspects, the rock which for five years had been the object of so many military and political speculations. We approached a small tower, situated near to a prodigious fortess, close by the Mediterranean, when our stern conductor said to us in Spanish, which at that moment did not appear to us to be the language of the gods, "You can go no farther, the first English guard is close to the tower you see before you." I asked him, whether war or a pestilence obliged

obliged us to keep at a distance ; but he seemed not to take this fallacy of wit in good part. He was doing his duty ; and although not very useful to our purpose, might have rendered us the victims of his ill humour. The safest method was not to provoke his resentment, but turn to the right ; which resolution we immediately took. But in passing so near the fortrefs, whence the English soldiers, placed upon the edges of some of the batteries on the land side, seemed to threaten our heads with a perpendicular shot, our conductor pointed out to us the mouth of a mine the duke de Crillon had hollowed within the rock, and by which he intended to revenge the fate of the floating batteries, when the peace obliged him to desist, and gave safety to the foundation of the fortrefs. During the siege, some daring workmen climbed up in the night to this opening, by favour of a heap of crumbled earth which adhered to the rock. The excavation had already advanced several fathoms, when hostilities were suspended ; but
had

had it been still deeper, it is difficult to conceive how powder could have raised up and broken the enormous mass which would still have borne upon the mine even when compleated, or how the explosion could have been prevented from re-acting towards the side of the orifice where it would have found less resistance. This was not the only point of the rock the duke de Crillon threatened: on the Mediterranean side, the declivity, though so deep as to be almost perpendicular, does not continue so to the surface of the earth. Between the foot of the mountain and the sea, there is a kind of path which leads to Europa point. At the entrance of this path, and near the English guard of which I have spoken, M. de Crillon had made a second opening in the rock. But it may be asked, what this general could have gained by scaling this side in the most elevated part, and at the greatest distance from the main body of the place.

Notwithstanding these questions, which I have heard put by professional men, and the sarcasms thrown out against both these attempts, I have been assured by persons who were present, that when general Eliott, after hostilities had ceased, walked with the duke de Crillon round the place he had so valiantly defended, he appeared surprised at seeing the progress made in a mine he had scarcely suspected, and that he said to the French general, had he known the state it was in he should not have been so easy. Was this expression from the English hero, an effort he made to imitate French complaisance; or did he mean sincerely to praise the bold enterprise of the duke de Crillon? On this I shall not undertake to decide. Be this as it may, the rock of Gibraltar which is steepest on the side toward the Mediterranean has gradually less declivity towards the Bay of Algeiras. It is on this kind of talus that the art of fortification has employed numerous means of defence. Some soldiers having perceived us from
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the top of the formidable amphitheatre, addressed us in Spanish, and gave notice to their officers.

Let it be here observed, that Nature, as if to render Gibraltar inaccessible on all sides, has placed between the foot of this fortress, to the south, and on the side of the Bay of Algeiras, a deep marsh which leaves between it and the place, as far as the land gate only, the breadth of a narrow causeway, commanded by an hundred cannon at a very trifling distance. A small dyke between the marsh and the Bay runs by the sea side to confine the water, and terminates at the land gate; and the marsh is contained in the enclosure of the place by a palisade, which begins at the foot of the mountain and terminates at the sea; the purpose of the palisade is to prevent desertion. It was the first victim sacrificed at the siege of Gibraltar, and its ruins, blackened by the fire, carried off from under the cannon of the place, served as trophies to some Spanish gre-

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nadiers,

nadiers, who presented them to the count d'Estaing; a general equally able to appreciate valour and disposed to reward it.

As long as the war lasted it remained in ruins, but it has been carefully repaired since the peace: the old mole is distinctly seen from it; it advances into the Bay, almost perpendicularly to the body of the place; it is a kind of narrow bank or causeway, with cannon planted on both sides, and entirely masks the new mole, which is half a league behind it, and nearly in the same direction.

The English officers, informed by their soldiers, saw us on the other side of the palisade, and saluted us in their language. The Irish officer who accompanied me having answered them in English, they drew near, and a conversation was begun. The officers, who were three in number, were young and very polite; they invited us to enter with them into the fortress, and particularly insisted upon

upon it when I told them I had a letter for general Eliott. We objected to this on account of the formal prohibition of the court of Madrid, which we as little permitted ourselves to interpret as to infringe, our fear of exposing the Irish officer, who was the principal interlocutor, and the impossibility of escaping the vigilance of our conductor. He had, however, abated somewhat of his severity; he consented, with a good grace, to our interview, and sat himself quietly down upon a stone whilst the conversation lasted, which would not have been very interesting to him had he understood it: its having a little the appearance of a forbidden gratification was sufficient to make it agreeable to us. Five persons of different nations, speaking to each other over a palisade, which, by the strict prohibition of the court of Spain, opposed an insurmountable obstacle to their uniting, reminded me of a conversation obtained in a convent through an iron grate, in which both parties endeavour to deceive the eyes

of the female Argus, who increases the pleasure of the meeting by adding to the constraint. The eyes of our Argus had no need of being deceived. Shut by heedlessness and languor, they opened with regret, when it was necessary we should again mount our horses. The English officers, unable to overcome our scruples, offered us refreshment; we accepted some beer, and had the satisfaction of drinking with them, under the cannon of Gibraltar, a few glasses of porter, to the health of king George III. and general Eliott. In such circumstances, the distinctions by which nations are classed, and the spirit of rivalry that divides them are annihilated. We were neither Frenchmen, Spaniards, nor Englishmen; but merely so many members of the immense family of mankind. If the uniting of men into nations constitutes their strength, and a great part of their virtues, it is also the source of most of their vices and misfortunes; without this fewer mischiefs would desolate the earth: revolts against authority, the oppression of crowned despots,

despots, that still more severe of subaltern tyrants, the silent intrigues of policy, and the noisy ravages of war would be unknown; men would no longer destroy each other in pursuit of that phantom called Glory; they would no more sacrifice their repose, and that of their wives and children, to interests foreign to their own; and, in defect of magistrates and laws, each man would take upon him to revenge his own wrongs. The greater contrast these reflections formed to so many recent events, the remembrance of which was awakened by the sight of Gibraltar, the more affecting and profound was the impression they made, and the more sensible the charm they added to our little congress. It soon became necessary to banish them, and return from the illusion of the golden age to the sad realities of that of iron. The sun was setting, and the calm of the evening made the cries of the sailors, on board the vessels anchored before us at the foot of the old mole, more distinctly heard. The famous rock

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already

already began to fade from our sight. We took leave of the English officers, and again returned by the lines. In retiring I turned twenty times towards Gibraltar; I wished, by frequently looking at it, to carry in my memory the exact image of an object which had been so fertile a source of military, political, and philosophical reflections. That, said I to myself, is the rock which, during five years, engaged the attention of all nations. It is in every respect useless to the English, but they imagine their honour interested in preserving that little portion of land, in spite of Nature, which seems to have allotted it to the monarch who reigns over the Peninsula of which it makes a part; they sacrifice millions to fortify, preserve and defend it. On the other hand, the vanity only of Spain is interested in recovering it; and to this chimera, under a monarch sparing of the blood and treasure of his subjects, she sacrificed, during five years, the most enormous sums, the most advantageous plans of more distant expeditions, and,
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if I may dare to use the expression, the glory of the kingdom, were that glory rightly understood; while the house of Bourbon chained the greatest part of its naval forces to the foot of this rock, more contemptible in itself than formidable by the art of war.

In the midst of these reveries, I arrived at Fort Saint Philip, which is at the other extremity of the lines on the side of the Bay. We rode within them until we came to the principal guard; we there left our stoical conductor, who had felt nothing but langour and fatigue, where I had found so much pleasure and interesting objects which had given birth to so many reflections. We took the road to Saint Roche, keeping by the sea-side, and passing over the little wooden mole, where the embarkations were made, and the wounded received on shore, during the fatal night of the floating batteries. We afterwards crossed the bridge of Mayorga, opposite to which these batteries took their departure when they

they failed to the attack. I imagined that I heard the groans of the manes of the valiant besiegers who found death in the midst of waves and flames; I seemed to hear the roar of that formidable artillery, which on both sides made so much noise and such few ravages. We arrived at Saint Roche at eight o'clock in the evening.

My first intention was to go from Saint Roche to Malaga, and to return to Madrid by crossing the kingdom of Granada. This is, perhaps, the part of Spain which most excites the curiosity of the traveller. He there finds all the majesty as well as all the beauties of nature: high mountains whose summits are constantly covered with snow; fertile valleys, of which the agreeable coolness is not diminished even by the heat of the dog-days; torrents of limpid water, which rush from the rocks, and fertilise the country without overflowing it, and the most beautiful points of view. In the capital he finds monuments for which he

he would search in vain in the rest of Europe; well preserved palaces of the ancient Moorish kings, to whom the kingdom of Granada was the last asylum; baths, gardens, mosques, and other remains of the magnificence and taste of the Arabs, which have survived the ravages of conquerors for the pleasure and information of posterity. M. Peyron, in his *Essays on Spain*, has already given a description, equally accurate and interesting, of these wonders of art and nature, which greatly increased the desire I had to see them. His description diminishes my regret on the readers account, to whom I can offer nothing better; but it can never console me for having been prevented by circumstances from gratifying my curiosity. I was obliged to put off this agreeable journey on account of business, which called me to Madrid; and from Saint Roche I took the direct road to that capital, making one little circuit only to see the establishments of Ximena,

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This place is four leagues from Saint Roche. The two first of which lie mostly over sand, but through a wood, in which tufts of shrubs fill up the intervals between the great trees, and which, besides, contains wild olive and fig-trees, green oak, and the *alcornoque* or cork-tree. The road for the two last leagues winds through a vast plain, or rather a garden, abounding in melons, cucumbers and Indian corn.

Ximena is built upon the declivity of a steep rock commanded by the ruins of an old castle. I had letters of recommendation to Don Manuel Behic, descended from a French family, and who had for some years been comptroller of a foundery of iron cannon, and balls, exclusively intended for Spanish America. The manufacture was established by the minister of the Indies, M. de Galvez, under the direction of a captain of a ship of war. His management of the undertaking was not satisfactory to government, and I found at Ximena a colonel
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of engineers who was charged to scrutinise the proceedings, and examine whether or not the establishment could be continued. The result of his observations was, that the river which set in motion the forges was dry eight months in the year, and that, during the other four, it was not sufficient to drive a single hammer. Notwithstanding these deficiencies, which ought to have made the intendant more sparing in his advances, he had already made such as seemed to be calculated for the most flourishing manufacture; an error or a treachery too common among the Spaniards, who often make the most expensive efforts in the beginning of establishments, which experience soon after causes to be abandoned. The minister of the Indies has chosen another situation for the manufactory of Ximena, three leagues from the old one, on the river Guadiaro, in which there is always water sufficient to drive two forges. After I had left Ximena, I passed by the place where some workmen were already employed.

employed. The establishment cannot there fail of success ; the situation is very favorable, since it is near a rich mine which produces twenty five pounds of iron for every hundred weight of ore. From Ximena I proceeded three leagues farther to Gauvin, a handsome town in the middle of very high mountains, whence the rock of Gibraltar may be distinctly seen. From the summits of these mountains, the peaceable inhabitants of Gauvin, saw the fire issue from that fortress without being in the least alarmed at its thunders, as the Gods of Epicurus from their celestial abodes looked down with unconcerned tranquility on all the painful struggles and cruel sufferings of wretched mortals.

I took the advantage of what light remained to admire the situation of Gauvin. At the foot of it is a deep valley, which receives the tribute of the rivulets that run from the sides of neighbouring mountains ; the inhabitants have so far profited by this advantage, as to have
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surrounded themselves with vegetables and verdure. The neighbouring hills are covered with vineyards, and what serves to decorate the landscape is a great enclosure, belonging to the Franciscans, which runs by the side of the great road, following its rapid descent. Though the monks are generally exclaimed against, it must be allowed that their possessions are every where, and particularly on the outside of cities, cultivated in the best manner; that their habitations form agreeable points of view; and their residence enlivens the adjacent country. Is it that the pious complaisance of the faithful has permitted them to chuse the most agreeable situations; or do the pleasures of their solitary life furnish them with more means of embellishing their places of retirement?

In my walk of observation I met the Corregidor, who gave me a description of Gauvin worthy of a good patriot; he extolled the position of the old castle which commanded the town, and whence
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the inhabitants judged of the attack and defence of the besiegers and besieged of Gibraltar. I led the conversation to the national bank ; he seemed to regret that the capital had been increased by the subsidies from cities and communities. In his opinion they might have been better employed. Gauvin, for instance, had been obliged to part with forty thousand reals, which would have answered a more useful purpose, had they been applied to paving the town, or repairing the roads about it. Thus it every where happens, that the solitary citizen, confining himself within his own narrow sphere, and not in a situation to comprehend the great views of administration, would wish, in his self importance, every thing to be sacrificed to his particular convenience.

Beyond Gauvin, the road for two or three leagues lies over the side of the mountains, across the vineyards, which from within a small distance of their tops descend to the bottom of the valleys.

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The little habitations of the vine dresfers on the declivity of the mountains, prove the activity which reigns in this happy district. The country afterwards becomes still more mountainous ; and the rest of the road lies across the most enormous mountains entirely deprived of covering. From time to time we meet with some wretched villages, hung, as it were, upon the sides of naked rocks, and which are the retreats of thieves and smugglers. Their names and situation sufficiently indicate they were built by the Moors, who, no doubt sought, in the bosom of the most inaccessible mountains, asylums where they might be secure from the attacks of the Christians. The principal of these villages are Guatazin, Benali, and Atajate : the last is three leagues from Gaufin, almost at the foot of the rocks ; the road from it ascends again and continues to the summit of the high mountains, whence we see, for the last time, the rock of Gibraltar.

We soon afterwards discover Ronda, which, seen at that distance, appears situated in the middle of a basin formed by the neighbouring hills, and in the bosom of the most barren and stoney country imaginable. We are, however, undeceived as soon as we arrive in the city, which, from the strength of its natural fortifications, was not taken from the Moors until the end of the fifteenth century. It is surrounded with a double enclosure of rocks, between which runs a little river. In the time of the Moors, the only entrance was by a low gate, flanked with great towers; afterwards a short but very high bridge was to be passed, at the foot of which was a great spring, that has never disappeared. The city of Ronda covers a considerable but uneven space of ground. The double natural rampart which surrounds it is incommodious to the inhabitants, since it is no longer necessary to their safety. A project has been formed to construct a second bridge, at the place of the nearest approach of the rocks to each other.

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This idea animated the patriotic zeal of M. Giron, a general officer of distinguished birth and talents, and one of the principal citizens of Ronda. He pressed the execution of the project, and towards the end of the year 1785, enormous piles had already been driven at the bottom of the natural ditch, and promised the inhabitants a new means of escaping from their spacious prison.

To the North East, the environs which are not seen as we approach from Gaufin, are covered with orchards that furnish abundance of peaches, plumbs, different kinds of pears, and apples of an excellent quality; these fruits are not often met with good in Spain; for whether the gardeners want skill, or the nature of the soil be improper, the country of oranges, figs and olives, is not that of the exquisite fruits which constitute the most ornamental and delicious part of our autumnal deserts. We shall indeed be inclined to suspect this arises from want of skill in the art of gardening, if

we consider that the king's table is covered with excellent fruits of this kind from the gardens of Aranjuez and Saint Ildefonso, whilst it would be in vain to search for them in the rest of Castile.

Paxarete, famous for its wine, is four or five leagues from Ronda, and belongs to M. Giron.

Grazalema, situated like Ronda, in the bosom of rocks, is only three leagues from the latter town. The inhabitants having abundance of water, and but few resources, employ themselves in the preparation of wool. The result has been one of the principal manufactures of Spanish cloths for home consumption.

The first league and a half from Ronda is agreeable from the great number of orchards by the side of the road; the ground afterwards becomes uneven, stoney, and but little cultivated. I reached Cannete the same day, a large unhand-some town, commanded by the ruins of
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an old fort. The country beyond it, as far as Ossuna, is barren and uneven, and presents nothing but a few olive plantations; their pale verdure, which scarcely shades a grey soil, saddens rather than embellishes the landscape.

Five leagues farther we arrive at Ossuna, the capital of the duchy of that name. The city is considerable, but nothing in it announces affluence, although many of the nobility reside there. I remarked an alameda, or public walk, decorated with a fountain: two pillars in a bad taste are also intended to contribute to its embellishment; they bear a pompous inscription, in which are named the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Ossuna, who was then alive, and the two corregidores, founders of the pillars, which have been honoured with the appellation of *famosa obra*: the inscription concludes by declaring, that it had been engraved as an *eternal monument*. I observed that this *monument*, this *famous work*, consisted in two fountains of but

very middling appearance, and in two rows of heavy stone benches clumsily covered with plaster. In 1785, they disappointed the modest intention that had dedicated them to eternity; their ruins, with which the ground is covered, though it is only eight years since the erection of the pillars, sufficiently evince the fragility of the works of man. It would be difficult to find a monument in a worse state, and especially a more striking gasconade; with reason, therefore, are the Andalusians called the gascons of Spain.

Eccija is six leagues from Offuna, across a flat and well cultivated country. At about the distance of a league from Offuna, I remarked a great marsh almost covered with white birds, bigger and longer bodied than ducks, and called in Spanish, *alabancos*. At the least noise they rise in flocks and display their wings, in which a bright red is, in a singular manner, mixed with the white. I cannot better compare the appearance they make, than to that of a pack of cards

cards thrown into the air and falling in disorder. The water upon which these birds live is brackish; sportsmen shoot them, but they are not good to eat.

At Eccija, which I had already seen as I went to Cadiz, I took post horses and, following for seventy five leagues the road I had travelled at the beginning of my journey, arrived at Madrid.

After my return to the capital, I took the advantage of the leisure my affairs permitted me, to make excursions to several places little known, and which excited my curiosity.

I began with San Fernando, a village three leagues from Madrid, which for some time was remarkable on account of a manufacture of cloths established there. This has been removed to Guadalaxara, but the cloths still preserve the name of the place where they were first made; and as the sign brings customers, the change of the place has neither

diminished the vogue or reputation. San Fernando, formerly animated by industry, is now the abode of silence and melancholly. The vast edifice that resounded with the noise of machines and the cheerful songs of workmen, is now filled with the impure voices of wretched prostitutes, which the police of Madrid delivers from vice to condemn to penitence; they there expiate the pleasures they have bestowed upon their numerous lovers, of the court and capital, and sometimes the refusals their caprice has given to persons who are not to be denied with impunity. San Fernando is to Madrid, what the *Salpêtrière* is to Paris, the scarecrow of vice, but sometimes a retreat that opens to the voice of vengeance concealed under the appearance of justice. Besides, united as it were in one body, the wretches leave the hospital more corrupted or rather less capable of amendment.

At nearly the same distance from Madrid is a little village, scarcely known by name,

name, which appeared to me to merit attention; it is called *Loeches*. I had become desirous of seeing it, from having read a little English pamphlet which appeared during my residence at Madrid, entitled, *Anecdotes of eminent painters in Spain*. Mr. Cumberland, more known by his dramatic pieces, than his success as a negociator, resided almost a year at Madrid. He had in charge, it is said, to induce Spain to detach herself from her alliance with France. He was accompanied by his daughters. These two young ladies were, notwithstanding the wars which divided the two countries, perfectly well received in the circles of Castile. In fact, there was no great merit in laying at their feet all national prejudices. In them wit was united with elegance of figure, and the graces with talents. Gallantry rendered them the homage which was their due, but state-policy in vain endeavoured to make them useful to its views. In treating with Mr. Cumberland, the minister of the court of Madrid forgot he was

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their father, and Spanish loyalty thus acquired another triumph.

Those who know these accomplished ladies, whom I have since had the pleasure of seeing in England, will excuse this digression ; of every body else I ask pardon. The dutchess of Vauguyon, who has lived some years at Madrid, can, besides, attest that it is not for amiable English ladies only that the Spaniards reserve their polite attention ; but that people of all nations are sure of pleasing them when they have the desire and the means of doing it.

Mr. Cumberland after his return to London, communicated to the public, in a pamphlet, the observations he had made on the arts at Madrid. This production was nothing more than a desultory compilation, wherein the author had collected anecdotes concerning the painters who had possessed the greatest reputation in Spain. Rubens, who had made two journies into that kingdom was
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not forgotten. I knew that, well received at the court of Philip the Fourth, he had enriched with the productions of his pencil the palace of that monarch ; but I had not learned that he had buried several of them in a little convent of nuns four leagues from Madrid. This I gathered from the pamphlet of Mr. Cumberland, and was determined to be convinced of the truth with my own eyes. I found at Loeches, a little church founded by the duke de Olivarez, the decorations of which might be envied by the metropolitan of the Christian world. Six capital paintings by Rubens, of the largest size and most magnificent effect, adorn the altars or enrich the walls. The principal of these is an allegorical painting of the triumph of religion ; it is over the great altar, and unites all the beauties, and even defects, which characterise its author ; richness of composition, brilliant colouring, strength of expression, and negligence of design. After this painting, I was most struck with that in which Elias is represented

represented standing in the desert, at the moment when an angel appears to comfort him ; there is something divine in the attitude of the prophet, and in the expression of his countenance. I remarked, with pleasure, that Rubens had given to his features a striking resemblance to those of Henry IV. whether it were that these features, which he has more than once traced upon canvases, were unconsciously produced by his pencil, or whether he availed himself of his art to perpetuate in Spain, under the form of a prophet, the portrait of a monarch so odious to that country, both with respect to his religion and his political system ?

There is in the same church an excellent copy of a holy family, by Andrea del Sarto, the original of which is at the Escorial, as also a copy of another painting in the same convent, representing a dead Christ on the knees of his mother : this painting is also by Rubens.

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There are some pictures in the vestry which have their merit; among others, two by Bassan and one by Titian. I spent some hours in contemplating these masterly productions, which are almost unknown in the history of painting. Satisfied, but not cloyed, I quitted the church of Loeches to return to Madrid.

Another object of curiosity, perhaps still more unknown to the Spaniards themselves, is found in the bosom of the mountains of Castile, four or five leagues from the Escorial: this is a monument which has caused much perplexity to some antiquarians, and which they know by the name of *Toros de Guisando*. Guisando is a convent of Hieronymites, placed upon the side of a chain of steep rocks where, according to tradition, the sons of Pompey were defeated by the party of Cæsar, and where the conquerors, to celebrate their triumph, sacrificed to the gods an hundred bulls, and left the figures of four in stone on the place where they obtained their victory. Another tradition asserts

asserts these supposed bulls are elephants, and says, that instead of the triumph of the Romans, they were intended to preserve the memory of the passage of the Carthaginians into the country, who, indeed, have left in several parts of Spain some rude figures of these animals. It certainly requires not much knowledge of national history to distinguish a bull from an elephant, and the doubt of the Spanish antiquarians upon this question might well become the subject of much pleasantry. I was determined to examine attentively the matter in dispute, and formed the bold resolution of deciding on the question. I found, in an enclosure of vines, overlooked by the convent of Guisando, four enormous blocks of hard stone, resembling granite; they appeared to me so unshapen, that I was inclined to take them for the sportive productions of nature, rather than the regular works of art. On examining them nearer, I discovered, or rather guessed, the intention of the sculptor, but the efforts of his chisel have almost disappeared

disappeared beneath the ravages of time: I found no signs either of the horns of a bull or the trunk of an elephant. The form of the ears rather indicate the latter than the former animal; the contours of the rump and flanks are so much worn out of shape, that it is difficult to decide between the two. In short, after an hour's observation, I left the difficulty as I found it. One of the blocks seemed to have been displaced by the hands of some curious persons. The experiment was fatal to the block; it was broken into two pieces, which lie at the distance of a few paces from each other, and the hind part, sunk into the earth, seems rather the rude production of its entrails, than to have been designed to ornament its surface.

I was almost ashamed of my fruitless journey. I painfully climbed up to the monastery, whence I looked down upon this hieroglyphical monument; I had there no doubt of the manner in which it ought to be interpreted. The tradi-
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tion of which I have spoken, is preserved upon a kind of scroll, constantly put into the hands of strangers, who may there read distinctly the Latin inscriptions cut in the sides of the blocks, but which are now almost effaced. The principal of these inscriptions is as follows: *Bellum Cæsaris et Patriæ ex magna parte confectum fuit ; S. et Cn. Pompeii filiis hic in agro Bastetano profligatis.* And another, *Exercitus victor hostibus effusis.* They sufficiently indicate that the monuments were designed to celebrate a victory over the sons of Pompey. It remains to be determined whether the ground upon which they are placed be the *Agrum Bastetanum* ; and to reconcile the hypothesis with history, which places the defeat of Pompey's party in Andalusia. The worthy monks, jealous of the renown of their district, found an answer to all my objections ; and that nothing might be wanting to my belief, they shewed me the caverns in which the sons of Pompey found their death in seeking an asylum after their defeat. I could scarcely persuade myself
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but that I heard the groans of their illustrious manes ; and my imagination going back eighteen centuries, made me forget that I was surrounded by Hieronymites. This they recalled to my recollection, by remarking to me, that these asylums of the martyrs to liberty had fourteen hundred years later been those of the martyrs of penitence ; and I was obliged to hear the recital of the retreat of the founders of their order to the caverns, the detail of their austerities, and to distinguish the traces of their steps, and those even of their tears, Fatigued with this solemn narrative ; but perfectly satisfied with the cordial reception I had met with from the Monks, I descended to the plain ; where I took a last view of the mishapen hieroglyphics to which the good father had given me a key, and pursued the road to the Escorial.

The *Toros de Guisando*, which many people at Madrid think imaginary, are frequently introduced into familiar conversation, to express, in a burlesque manner, the courage of a man capable of

facing the greatest dangers; and in this sense they are used by one of the heroes of Cervantes. When after my return I said I had seen and touched these famous bulls, I was looked upon as an extraordinary person. The wonder, however, ceased when I had described the enemy whom I had so resolutely braved.

Another district, farther from Madrid, makes a still greater figure than the *Toros de Guisando* in the fabulous history of Spain; I mean the district of Battuecas, to which Montesquieu alludes in his Persian Letters, when he says, the Spaniards have in their own kingdom districts unknown to themselves. According to ancient tradition, the religion, language and manners of Spain were unknown in the Battuecas. Extraordinary voices had been heard there from the neighbouring villages; the shepherds were afraid to approach it with their flocks. Fewer alarms would have made it the retreat of dæmons or savages; and each related in
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his own manner, the origin and particularities of the place. The Battuecas have also furnished a subject for the wits of Spain; they are introduced into comedies and novels; and Moreri did not disdain to give to these ridiculous stories a place in his dictionary.

Father Feijoo, an extremely well informed and intelligent Monk, lately deceased, was one of the first who successfully combated these absurdities. The result of my researches, and the little tour I made to the Battuecas a short time before my departure from Spain is, that they are two uncultivated valleys, scarcely a league in length, and so narrow and closely shut in, that it is difficult for the sun to enter them in winter. This little district is remarkable for groupes of rocks oddly formed, for variety of trees, the meandering of the little river which waters the valleys, the excavations of the mountains by which they are formed, and the great numbers of all kinds of animals to which it serves as a

retreat. The only human habitation, which merits attention, is the convent of the bare-footed Carmelites, whose cells are buried, as it were, under the steep rocks by which they are threatened, and the trees that give them shade. A traveller might make the tour of Europe and not find a place more fit to become the asylum of silence and peace. The district, which is almost inaccessible, and not upon the road to any city, is scarcely ever frequented. The curious few who go thither, are looked upon as persons impelled by an extravagant curiosity, by the peaceful inhabitants, who cannot imagine what they have come to seek among them. Their little district which they seldom or never leave, is in the diocese of Coria, between old Castile and Estramadura, eight leagues from Ciudad Rodrigo, and fourteen from Salamanca.

I had a strong desire to see, before I left Spain, this city so famous in romance, and the history of Spanish literature.
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For want of a guide who knew the road from the Battuecas to Salamanca, I determined to return to Madrid and take my departure from that city.

The court was then at Saint Ildefonso. I passed by that royal mansion, which brought me twelve leagues nearer the end of my journey; from Salamanca the distance is twenty seven leagues of that country, which make about forty of ours. All the district through which we passed (for I had still a travelling companion) although barren in appearance, is fertile and well cultivated: this, in a great measure, proceeds from the extent of the possessions, which is there much more confined than in several other provinces of Spain; the people themselves having lands, or farming to advantage those of great proprietors. The husbandmen reside near their farms; this has encreased the number of the towns and villages. Although complaint has been made of the depopulation of this part of Spain, I

counted twelve towns, hamlets, and villages which might be discovered from one spot of ground in the environs of Arevalo.

The first remarkable place at which we arrived after passing by Segovia, was *Santa Maria de Nieva*. This town contains six hundred houses. The inhabitants, more happy than those of the greatest part of Spain, have full permission to sell all kind of eatables. They reckon among other advantages, the possession of a miraculous image of the virgin, and the innocent privilege of having an annual bull fight, at which all the lovers of that diversion in the neighbourhood assemble, and where the most famous *Matadores* of Spain disdain not to gather bloody laurels.

From the eminence on which Santa Maria de Nieva is placed, we discover a fine country, of a large extent of land, in which there is neither running water, trees, verdure nor country houses, and
which

which offers nothing but the dull uniform aspect of immense fields of wheat, can be so called.

We soon after came to a wood of firs, which bears a faint resemblance to the heaths of Bourdeaux, but the industry of the inhabitants has not taken advantage of the resource which these trees present.

On the outside of the wood the ground becomes bare and uniform. Notwithstanding its dryness, it is well cultivated to the very gates of Arevalo, a town which must formerly have been a considerable city. It is almost surrounded by a little river the deep bed of which seems to have been dug for the defence of a fortress. The gate of Arevalo is a massive building without ornament; it leads to a bridge which is not more indebted to art, but its solidity may brave the ravages of inundations and almost those of time. However, it has not been thought unworthy of a pompous inscription,

tion, which informs the traveller that the town and villages for thirty leagues round contributed to its construction. The interior of Arevalo, notwithstanding the impoverished state of the modern inhabitants, still bears the marks of having formerly been an important city. There are some remains of antique columns upon which are placed miserable barracks and half-rotten balconies. The sight of these called to my recollection those bankrupts who, formerly opulent, wear out in their distress the tattered remains of their once sumptuous wardrobe. The clergy only preserve their riches in the midst of the poverty with which they are surrounded. There are still in Arevalo eight parishes, and as many convents.

The only cultivation for the space of six leagues, the distance from Santa Maria de Nieva to Arevalo is that of corn: a few vineyards produce wines, the bitter and earthy taste of which nothing but habit can render supportable.

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From Arevalo to Penaranda, nothing is seen but a fertile and well cultivated country. Yet notwithstanding the riches of the earth the inhabitants seem poor. Reduced to articles of pure necessity, they despise those of convenience, and deprived of all exterior communication and objects of comparison, they seem not to have either the desire or knowledge of these enjoyments. They never have a thought of embellishing their inheritances; a pleasure or kitchen garden is to them an object of luxury, which their parsimony refuses. Idleness imposes on them deprivations, and, in turn, the habit of these increases indolence: they will move round this circle until roads, canals, and easy means of conveyance shall have taught them the advantages of commerce.

We passed the night at Flores de Avila, a miserable village where we suffered every inconvenience. The frugal supper set before us was twenty times interrupted by the barking of dogs, the thefts
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of cats, the importunities of beggars, and the cavils of a toothless old woman who did the honours of the inn. We passed the night upon beds as hard as it is possible to conceive beds to be, devoured by the insects, which in Spain so frequently disturb the repose of the traveller. Accommodated in this manner, we rose early without much effort, and immediately set out for Penaranda, a handsome little town, which contains about a thousand houses. Like Arevalo, it has some ruins of architecture, which prove it was formerly more considerable; it belongs to the counts of the same name, one of whom was the count de Penaranda so well known in political history by his arrogance, which twenty times was near breaking up the congress of Westphalia. After the extinction of the male line of the counts, Penaranda passed over to the house of Uceda, by the marriage of the present duchess of that name,

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The inhabitants of the city have the greatest confidence in an image of the Holy Virgin ; without the aid of which, say they, they should repeatedly have sunk under their wretchedness. Such are the mild illusions which modern philosophers have had the cruelty to ridicule, and which, perhaps, should be supported for the consolation of the poor, when vigilant and enlightened authority has otherwise the means of remedying the abuses of superstition. Illusions like these are surely innocent, and even precious when their only effect is to nourish hope and patience in the bosom of the unfortunate*. The inhabitants of Penaranda, like those of most of the Spanish provinces, appeared to me to stand in need of these two resources ; they are overburthened with taxes ; they painfully earn what they possess, and distress destroys their industry. Their lords, who

* But what becomes of truth, I shall be asked? I would not have it offended, but let us at least be convinced it is preferable to the illusion we would reject.

are sometimes ignorant to the degree of being unacquainted with the geographical situation of their estates, confide the management of them to stewards, treasurers, or alcaldes, who bring curses upon their names by the abuse of their authority. Who in such a case would dare to speak in favour of the oppressed? And who amongst the latter would venture to lay his complaints at the foot of the throne? In vain do the laws offer him a refuge; their interpreters are too much afraid of persons who know how to elude them, and against whom they are never invoked with impunity. I know that in the present age there have been magistrates virtuous and intrepid* enough to brave the resentment of the great, by rigorously discussing the nature of their rights, and despoiling them of their usurpations. The honour of restoring to the crown the possession of

* I would name them were not I afraid of awakening against them the hatred their courage has excited; but my Spanish readers will add what, from delicacy, I here omit.

its privileges was attached to this bold resolution, and such a project has something in it brilliant, which is a support to courage. But where are they to be found, who, without other motives than equity and humanity, undertake the obscure and hazardous defence of certain citizens, who, as the price of such services, frequently have nothing more to offer than their gratitude, admiration and esteem? These are not more numerous in Spain than in other countries.

I did not expect I should have had so much to say relative to the little town of Penaranda; nor can I take my leave of it without rendering a tribute of justice to the inn in which I took the necessary refreshment. It is certainly the cleanest and most convenient of any I met with in Spain. Contrary to the custom of the country, the innkeeper and his wife are complaisant, attentive, and always have provisions to offer to their guests.

Half

Half a league from this city we entered a wood of green oaks, which we were almost an hour and an half in crossing. It belongs to the counts of Penaranda. We met in the road a master mason, whom we accosted, and with whose good sense we were rather struck; I should have been much more surpris'd at it in the former part of my residence in the country; but for several years past I had been accustomed to find wit, clear ideas, and remarkable precision of language in classes, which in other countries wretchedness and profound misery reduce almost to the level of brutes. The corregidor of Penaranda would not perhaps have given us such clear accounts of the cultivation of the country, the means of succeeding in it, &c. as those we received from our travelling companion; who discovered us in a moment, upon our addressing him, in a language with which we were not familiar. He seasoned his discourse with strokes of pleasantry, which our most fashionable wits need not have been ashamed to own.

own. From him we learned that most of the lands of the district were farmed out to labourers, who did not pay more than a quarter of their produce to the proprietors, taking upon themselves all expences, and who, with a little good fortune, became rich in a few years. However, I thought he took advantage of our being strangers, to give us as an undoubted fact, that which then appeared to us, and still seems to me to be a ridiculous story. He assured us, that in some of the neighbouring parishes there were droves of cows, the male calves of which never had horns; but this defect prevented not their having all the properties of a bull or an ox.

I do not advise naturalists to assert upon the authority of the mason of Penaranda, that in certain countries, there are breeds of *horned cattle*, which have *no horns*; but if this oddity of nature should not be new to them, they are here furnished with another authority.

Whether

Whether the accounts of our travelling companion were true, or mere pleasantries, his chearfulness and instructive conversation shortened the two long leagues which separate Penaranda from Ventosa, a miserable village upon an eminence whence Salamanca begins to be seen. After passing Ventosa we arrived at the town of Huerta; and in the inn there, I for the first time observed a singularity which in some respects well deserves to be imitated in other places. At the entrance we found a placart, in which the alcalde mayor prescribed to the innkeeper the manner in which he ought to treat travellers, the price he was to receive for their beds, food, horses, &c. So far there was nothing amiss; but the foresight of the alcalde extended to forbidding the innkeeper from keeping pigs and hens, from suffering certain prohibited games to be played in his house, and from receiving into it armed men, or women of ill fame. Such shackles produce inconvenience, without being of any real benefit to morals, and by these means

means Spain will long be without good inns, and the dread of travellers. Those who travel over that kingdom, without reflection, lay the blame on the indolence and carelessness of the Spaniards. But observation shews, that the defect rather proceeds from the municipal constitution of cities and communities, the tyranny of the great, and from old customs which cannot be abolished without new modelling a considerable part of the legislation. Time only and perseverance can produce such a revolution: the present minister has it in contemplation, and is preparing for the change, but does not mean it shall be violent or sudden.

On leaving Huerta we distinctly saw the steeples of Salamanca, and did not again lose sight of them. The road lies along the banks of the Tormes, near to which the city is situated. At a certain distance its situation is beautiful; and were the country a little less naked it would considerably resemble that of

Tours on the banks of the Loire. The appearance of Salamanca is very like that of Tours, as we arrive at it from Blois. To the right are some little barren and stoney hills, on which are seen a few habitations, with some tufts of trees, and to the left several copses which separate the great road from the river. At about half way we crossed one of the vast pastures or commons, called *Valdios*, which are but too frequent in Spain, but they are not cloathed with that brilliant verdure, which is the finest ornament of the country. A great drove of bulls passed us upon the road. The theatres of the bull-fights at Madrid and Valladolid are supplied from this district. After having frequently been witnesses to their bloody conflicts, it was not without some emotion that we found ourselves surrounded by these formidable animals; but they were at liberty and unprovoked; they had lost their ferocity, and we were soon as much at our ease as we could have been in the midst of a flock of sheep. Nature has
formed

formed but few mischievous beings, necessity only forces some to become so, and this happens when it imposes the law either of self-defence or seeking food for nourishment. In such cases, and also in some others, are men more mild or less dangerous than bulls or lions?

On entering Salamanca we passed thro' dirty streets, narrow and thinly peopled, which do not appear to belong to a great city: but we were agreeably surpris'd on arriving at the square, which is equally remarkable for cleanness and regularity of architecture; it appeared to us much superior to the *Plaza Mayor*, of which the inhabitants of Madrid are so vain. It is built with hewn stone, and ornamented with three rows of balconies that run all round without interruption. The first story is formed by arcades, and their freeze is ornamented with medallions of the most illustrious personages Spain has produced. On one side are those of all the kings of Castile to Charles III. exclusively; on the other

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those

those of the most celebrated heroes, such as Bernard del Carpio, Gonfálves de Cordova, and Hernando Cortez. Those to the east are not yet filled up. May Spain soon have great men to fill these vacant places.

The edifices which form the square of Salamanca are not the only ones worthy of attention; the cathedral, although cotemporary with Leo X. and built by a number of architects, has paid more than one tribute to bad taste. It must, however, be confessed, that the boldness of the nave and the finishing of the Gothic ornaments make it one of the most remarkable churches in Spain. When the traveller is informed that, besides the cathedral, there are in Salamanca, twenty-five parish churches, twenty-five convents of monks, and fourteen of women, without enumerating a considerable number of pious foundations, he is neither astonished at its poverty nor want of population. Its university, formerly so famous, to which
students

students were sent from all parts of Europe, has considerably fallen from its ancient splendor, although it is yet far from meriting the ignominious epithets bestowed upon it by modern travellers. According to the last form given it by the council of Castile, it has sixty-one professorships, without reckoning an anatomical theatre, and the college of the three languages (Hebrew, Greek and Latin). At present it contains several able professors, employed in pursuing and forcing from its last retreat the pretended philosophy of Aristotle, the object of the invectives of all Europe, after having been that of stupid veneration, in France and Italy no less than in Spain.

The edifices of this university are composed of two parts, separated from each other by a street. The little schools, (*Escuelas menores*) are on one side; and on the other the gates of the university properly so called. One of these gates immediately strikes the eye. Besides its be-

ing decorated with flowers extremely well sculptured, it bears an inscription which informs the reader that he is already at the door of the sanctuary of the sciences; the inscription is in Hebrew. This gate opens to a court that leads to the different schools. Bad paintings, with which the wall is daubed, indicate the science taught near at hand; and Latin verses written beneath, scarcely more tolerable than the paintings, record either the generosity of the principal patrons of the university, as Alfonso X. surnamed the Astronomer, and Ferdinand III. or the advantages of the science in question. The library is above; it is public, and if the librarians may be judged of by the reception I met with, those who may have occasion to visit them hereafter will be perfectly satisfied with their politeness. This library contains a good collection. We remarked there many foreign books, especially English and French; but there seemed to be but few modern works. The whole

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consists of upwards of twenty thousand volumes.

Another foundation, more modern than the university of Salamanca, and more celebrated in the present age, is that of the great colleges, or *colegios mayores*. There are in Spain seven houses of education which bear this name. The most distinguished youth of the kingdom are brought up in them: and thence it was, formerly, that all those who held places in the administration were taken, as I have observed in another part of this work. Such a distinction excited emulation amongst the students of the colleges (*Colegiales*) and the order of advocates, whose moderate fortunes were unequal to so illustrious an education. The latter have lately been fully revenged; since it was among them the state has found those who do it most honour; and their triumph has thrown a ridicule upon their disdainful rivals. Besides, they who supplanted them produced the reform of the abuses to which

these colleges were subject. In 1776, the council of Castile gave a new form to the whole, which in making them more regular, will probably render them more useful.

The city of Salamanca alone contains four of these colleges, those of St. Bartholomew, Cuenca, Oviedo, and del Arzobispo. The first, and the most ancient, has been recently rebuilt, and merits the attention of connoisseurs: the architect was a Biscayner, who had formed his taste in Italy; but his genius seems to have exhausted itself in the façade and the court; the interior of the building bears not the least marks of it. However, it contains a library rich in manuscripts. This college has produced several learned men; such as Alphonso Tostado, whose immense erudition and prodigious fertility of invention are still proverbial among the modern Spaniards.

The college of Cuenca, respectable in its appearance by its mass and symmetry,
is

is overcharged with paltry ornaments. The same observation holds with respect to that of el Arzobispo; they are both monuments of the indefatigable patience which characterised the artists of former ages; though it must be allowed they might better have employed their time and pains.

Little can be said of the *Colegio Mayor* of Oviedo. I had indeed heard much of the church of the Dominicans, the front of the convent of the Augustin nuns, and the church of San Marcos, heretofore belonging to the Jesuits.

In the midst of this profusion of sacred edifices at Salamanca, it was necessary to make a choice; we therefore confined our observations to these three churches.

The front of that of the Dominicans is an elaborate performance, in the gothic taste; the nave is spacious, and the light judiciously admitted; the chapels are richly decorated, and in all these respects it
appeared

appeared to us to resemble many other churches in Spain. But we sought in vain for the fine paintings of which we had heard so many encomiums. The ceiling of the choir is painted in fresco, by the same Palomino of whom I have several times spoken, and who, in writing the lives of the Spanish painters, has given excellent instructions relative to the fine arts. However, it seemed to us, that at Salamanca he had not added example to precept.

A very officious monk presented himself to shew us the curiosities of his church. We presumed he would be our *Cicerone* for the paintings; but he led us directly to the shrine. Our disappointed curiosity was a second time obliged to put on the mask of devotion, and immediately we found ourselves in the midst of a dozen soldiers and persons of the lowest rank, listening to a recital of the list of all the relics contained in the cabinet. My travelling companion, to whom his religion rendered these details less

less interesting than to the implicit believers, withdrew his attention, and employed himself in endeavouring to explain the *ex votos* with which he was furrounded. The demonstrator, astonished his services should be refused, recalled the wanderer, made him some exhortations which, according to the intention of the worthy monk, would have penetrated a mind prepared for grace ; but the strayed sheep remained deaf to the voice of the shepherd. He vainly offered him sometimes the nail, and at others one of the double teeth of some saint to kifs, but the wandering brother suffered not himself to be prevailed upon. At length the monk came to a little box full of relics. Pope such a one had made a present of it to the community. "We have nothing," said he, "more precious, bring all your chaplets and rub them against this collection of spiritual riches." Every body present, except my companion and myself, eagerly obeyed the exhortation. We appeared a little confused at being surprised without that emblem of a good Christ.

Christian, and the spectators began to look on us with an evil eye. We were quite unknown in the city; and presently recollecting the holy office, with a slight impression of fear, sought for an opportunity to remove the suspicions which we perceived were entertained of us. This we soon found; the monk shewed to his audience a relic which, he told them, was nothing less than some of our Saviour's hair. Each bent his knee, whilst the dominican exclaimed: *Come near, this indeed merits adoration.* I approached with the rest, and devoutly kissed the holy relic. The situation of my companion became a little embarrassing. Was he, by his inaction, to declare himself an heretic; or might he, from respect to the company, consent to do what to him appeared an act of idolatry? His choice was soon made; he was neither superstitious nor fanatical, and he took the resolution to imitate us. I know several persons of his persuasion, who would impute this to him as a crime; but I think him very excusable

cusable in permitting himself an act which to him must seem indifferent. This apparent veneration for an object we think unworthy it, is not certainly any thing more than bowing to a man in place whom we do not esteem. And who amongst us has not rendered such homage? Besides, this was a mere matter of course, I will add, almost of general polity. And what purpose would it have answered, to have offended so many people, by a tacit condemnation of their practice? In the eyes of an indifferent person the exterior acts of religion make a part of their manners. The times of fanaticism, when it was thought a merit to insult the objects of a religion which was looked upon as idolatrous, and in which my maxims of toleration would have been construed into so many crimes, are happily past. I however wish, for the honour of the Spanish nation, that as a religion different from that of the established one, is suffered in the sea-port towns of that kingdom, a traveller may be able to go over the whole country without

without being exposed to the danger which my travelling companion, had he been less prudent, might have incurred in the church of the Dominicans at Salamanca.

I shall omit the enumeration of all the sacred treasures there shewn to us, except the bible of the famous anti-pope Benedict XIII. who was born in Spain, and deposed by the council of Constance. "Take care," said our conductor, "not to confound him with a pope of the same name who was of the Dominican order; the latter was a real pope." We recollected the words of Moliere: *You are a goldsmith, Mr. Joffe.*

The front of the church of the Augustin nuns is massive and loaded with a profusion of ornaments, but the edifice in general is in a bad state. It faces a castle of the duke of Alba, which in Spain is called a *palace*, as the possessions of the grandees of Spain are called *states*. A part of those of the house of Alba
are

are in the environs of Salamanca; and, at the distance of four leagues from it, there is a city called after their name (*Alba de Tormes*) in which they have also a palace. But these *states* and *palaces* suffer not a little by the continual absence of their proprietors, proofs of which very frequently occur in making the tour of Spain. So long as the opulent landholders shall neglect to animate by their presence their vast possessions, the patriotic societies, establishments of manufactures, encouragements for clearing of lands, and prohibitions of foreign merchandize, will all prove ineffectual to redress the evils which for two centuries have been undermining the Spanish monarchy. They are the most proper persons to second the efforts of administration and insure their success. How can they, who are constantly at such a distance from their estates, redress the grievances committed in their names, project and execute plans of improvement, or encourage and facilitate the sale of the productions of their lands?

So

So long as the obscure and ruinous luxury which they display at court and in the capital shall absorb their riches, they must be deprived of the means of rendering them useful to their fellow citizens.

The ancient college of the Jesuits, among the sacred edifices at Salamanca, is that most deserving our attention ; it has been given to a community of regular canons, under the name of the church of *San Marcos*, or Saint Mark. In front is a magnificent portail of the Corinthian order. The ancient seminary of the Jesuits, which, at the request of the last bishop of Salamanca, was dedicated to the education of thirty young ecclesiastics, established there in 1778, is upon the same line. The ceremony of their admission by the prelate is represented in a fine painting by Bayeux, a pupil of the famous Mengs, and one of the best painters now in Spain. The paintings upon the walls of the great cloister have for their subject the
prin-

principal actions of the life of Saint Ignatius; the Jesuits had them painted at Rome.

The back part of the edifice is occupied by a community of Irish priests; which causes the church of Saint Mark to be improperly called the Irish church.

Before we left Salamanca, we went to visit the ancient Roman bridge of twenty-seven arches, over which, on leaving the city, we passed the little river of Tormes, and afterwards took the road to Madrid. This journey, including our return, was of about fifty Spanish, or seventy-five French leagues.

There is a city nearer to Madrid, and more celebrated than that of Salamanca, to which I made several journies; I mean the city of Toledo, the ancient residence of the Moorish kings, and the seat of the primate of all Spain. Toledo is situated upon the right bank of the Tagus, which furrounds it on all

sides, except to the north; it is twelve leagues from Madrid, and seven from Aranjuez, the royal mansion from which I took my departure for Toledo. The road is uneven and badly paved, and several times recedes from and approaches the Tagus. Not far from Aranjuez, towards the west, the valley of that name becomes more open and spacious, and the banks of the Tagus, which is here wider, also are less decorated with trees and verdure. However, upon the road to Toledo they present some very agreeable prospects; the river is hidden behind clumps of trees, and the eye wishes to discover it again, when instantly it appears watering the end of a meadow, or reflecting the image of some hamlet, till after a number of these pleasing meanders it arrives at the walls of Toledo. But during its course the banks become higher, and a little craggy, and this river, which runs so smoothly near Aranjuez that it is with difficulty the eye distinguishes its course, or the ear can suspect its vicinity, as it approaches
Toledo,

Toledo, and, under the walls of that city, is heard from afar rolling with great noise over an uneven bed.

The ground, however, rises insensibly; so that after having passed the bridge of the Tagus, which is of a frightful height, we find ourselves on a level with Toledo, although a part of this city is situated upon a steep rock. Solitary streets, houses in ruins, and the almost total absence of industry and affluence but ill agree with the idea formed of a city *, the first in rank in the Cortes of the kingdom of Castile †, which for a long time passed for its capital, and of which all the monuments prove the ancient splendour. Madrid, which in the latter centuries increased its population at the expence of the neighbouring cities, laid Toledo in particular under a heavy contribution. The aspect

* It bore the pompous title of *Imperial City*. The king of Castile, Alphonso VI. took it from the Moors, and with it the title of Emperor.

† Burgos disputes with it the pre-eminence.

of the ruins and the barrenness of the environs concur in giving it an appearance of wretchedness, which, however, is in some respects contradicted when we enter their houses, which are clean and neat to the extreme, a good quality rarely found where poverty resides. The inhabitants of Toledo are not much inferior in this respect to the Dutch themselves, and the great pains which the latter take to wash their walls and windows, and to make all their furniture shine like glass, the former employ in defending the entrance of their habitations from the rays of the sun, and in procuring coolness even in the middle of the dog-days. I visited several of these little mansions after dinner; I thought myself transported into the palace of sleep: nothing disturbed the calm of their peaceful inhabitants. At three o'clock in the afternoon the sun seemed set to them. The windows and lattices close shut, the floors moistened by frequent sprinklings, and large sheets spread over their courts, all concurred to make

us forget the heat of the climate and the hour of the day.

The industry of the inhabitants of Toledo was not long since confined to these effeminate inventions. Within a few years they have shaken off that stupor to which they seemed condemned. Their prelate declared, with a charitable zeal, open war against indolence and wretchedness. His immense alms, which annually amounted to from fifty to sixty thousand livres (above two thousand pounds sterling) were unequal to the beneficence of his intentions. The Alcazar, the ancient habitation of the Gothic kings, has been almost entirely rebuilt under Charles V. but since the conflagration at the beginning of the present century, it has been in a state of ruin: the only remains of this fine edifice were the fronts, and the principal court, surrounded with arcades, which leads to a magnificent staircase. The present archbishop has had some part of the building repaired, all the rooms upon

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the ground-floor have been properly arranged for the reception of silk looms, &c. which give employment to a great number of persons, who, before this establishment, were idle, and the productions of whose industry are already circulated at considerable distances from Toledo. The prelate has likewise founded an hospital for poor women and old men; he has also taken under his protection two hundred poor children, who are brought up at his expence, and are taught every thing necessary to fit them for arts and manufactures.

Such is the laudable manner in which the archbishop employs his leisure and the surplus of his fortune. Those who approach him, as I have several times had occasion to do, perceive he is rich in knowledge and virtue; but nobody would suspect the revenues of his see were very considerable. His manners have a truly apostolical simplicity, and he seems quite unacquainted with the luxury of the table. Notwithstanding
his

his punctuality in the fulfilment of his spiritual functions, he still finds leisure for literary amusements. Before he was translated to the see of Toledo he held that of Mexico; he there discovered the collection of the letters of Hernando Cortez; and, at his return to Europe, published them with observations. He has also given to the world some works of erudition, and, among others, a new edition of the Mosarabic Missal*.

* A collection of forms of prayer, &c. according to the ancient Mosarabic ritual, observed by the Christians in Arabian countries. It differs from the Roman ritual in a few prayers, and the transposition of the ordinary ceremonies of the mass; trifling differences which, perhaps, would escape hearers that were not very attentive. Having fallen into disuse, it was revived by cardinal Ximenes, who had it reprinted, and afterwards founded at Toledo a chapel, in which the service has ever since been performed according to this ritual. In 1783, I heard there a Mosarabic mass which the archbishop had sung to gratify the curiosity of the Nuncio. This mass is still used in one of the churches of Salamanca.

The archiepiscopal palace proves his aversion to magnificence, but the cathedral is one of the most noble sacred edifices in Europe. Its foundation is dated as far back as the end of the sixth century. During four hundred years it was in possession of the Moors, and profaned by the Mahometan worship. Although recovered by Alphonso VI. it preserved the form of a mosque until the reign of St. Ferdinand, who gave it that under which it now appears. It displays all the sumptuousness of Gothic edifices, and in the reigns succeeding that of St. Ferdinand was enriched with every kind of decoration. The glass of the windows is covered with paintings in the most brilliant colours. Two of the fronts are remarkable for the number, finishing, and variety of the sculptures with which they are adorned. The stalls of the canons merit a close examination on account of the fine taste and elegance of their bass reliefs. Several of the chapels are equally worthy of attention for the paintings, and more particularly the
tombs

tombs they contain. In the choir there are four of the latter, which are those of the kings of Castile, who are commonly called *Reyes viejos*, old kings, and that of the cardinal Mendoza, one of the most illustrious prelates who have held the see of Toledo.

The chapel of the Virgin is magnificently decorated. Cardinal Portocarrero, who was archbishop of the see, was interred in front of it. His epitaph bears no resemblance to that of Piron, as Mr. Peyron has carelessly asserted in his essays on Spain. The latter was composed in a moment of epigrammatical spleen; but that of the cardinal breathes christian humility and has nothing of the epigram. *Hic jacet pulvis, cines, et nihil*; "Here lies
" dust, ashes, nothing." This is very different from the peevish pleasantry of the author of the *Metromanie*:

*Ci-git Piron, qui ne fut rien ;
Pas même Academicien*.*

* Here lies Piron, who was nothing,
Not even an Academician.

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In the chapel of St. James our admiration and meditation are excited by the tomb of Don Alvar de Luna, the illustrious and unfortunate favourite of John II. and that of Donna Juana Pimentel his wife. We may there reflect on the instability of the favour of kings, and the vanity of monuments, somewhat more durable it may be, but whose majestic ornaments cannot disguise the insignificance of human greatness. In vain are inscriptions pompous, like those of these two tombs; they serve merely to tell us the heroes they immortalize have once existed, but are now no more. The same chapel contains the tombs of several relations of the favourite: among others, that of the archbishop of Toledo, one of the finest in the cathedral.

I recommend to the curious traveller to visit the monument of another archbishop, Don Juan de Contreras, and that of a bishop of Avila, in the chapel of St. Ildefonso. But the most remarkable chapel of all in this respect is, that of the new kings
(*delos*

(*delos reyes nuevos*) which, besides being richly decorated, contains the tombs of six kings or queens of Castile, each bearing an inscription and a statue recumbent on a sepulchral urn. The sight of these recalled to my memory the following elegant lines :

*Pour mieux représenter leurs grandeurs abattues,
L'artiste sur le marbre a couché leurs statues*.*

The capitulary hall contains the portraits in succession of all the archbishops of Toledo ; a valuable collection, not only because many of these prelates, as Mendoza, Cisneros, Tavera, Albornos and Tenorio established themselves a fame independant of their dignity, and that some of them who held this see were of the blood royal, as Don Louis, brother to the present monarch, but because several of their portraits take date from the revival of the art of paint-

* The artist, better to represent their fallen greatness, has extended their statues on the marble.

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ing in Spain, and that by comparing them the different gradations through which it has passed may be clearly discovered; and lastly, because since the time of cardinal Ximenes (known in Spain only by the name of cardinal Cisneros) they have all had the merit of resemblance.

In the cathedral are several other paintings worthy of attention; especially those in the vestry. An Assumption by Carlo Maratti; one of the masterpieces of Dominico Greco, a pupil of Titian; a painting not much inferior to the best of that great master; and one of the capital works of de Orrente, a Valencian painter, of whom I have already spoken. The ceiling of the vestry is painted in fresco, by Luca Giordano, and is not the least excellent of his productions, especially in this kind of composition. He had also a particular talent in imitating the manner of other painters, a proof of which is seen in one of his paintings in an apartment adjoining

ing to the vestry. This is a baptism of Christ, which those who are not real connoisseurs would certainly take for one of the best productions of Raphael. The same apartment, called *El Vestuario*, contains several other valuable paintings; among others, the birth and circumcision of Christ, both by Bassan; a Samaritan woman, by Rubens, a Saint Agnes, and a Pope seated, in which is displayed all the wondrous powers of the pencil of Vandyk.

I might mention several other remarkable paintings with which the cathedral of Toledo is enriched, were not I apprehensive of fatiguing the reader by too minute an exactness; but I cannot refrain from speaking of a production by a Spanish painter, little known in his own country, although very deserving to be so. The name of this artist is Blas de Prado, a native of Toledo, one of whose pictures is seen in the cloister of the cathedral. The most indifferent connoisseur cannot but be struck by the
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correctness of the drawing, the excellence of the colouring, and especially by the softness of expression in the figures. It represents the Holy Virgin surrounded with several saints, and crowned by angels, in presence of a knight in complete armour. I confess that notwithstanding the respectable names of the painters, whose works I have above mentioned, this gave me a pleasure which, on viewing them, I had not experienced, and that when I heard the name of the artist, I had the weakness to reproach myself for my admiration. I am of opinion, that several virtuosi have frequently found themselves in the same situation: in such cases they endeavour to justify themselves in their own eyes, and redouble their attention to discover the perfections of the great master, and the defects of the obscure painter, as if men of superior talents did not frequently sink to mediocrity, or mediocrity did not sometimes soar above itself. Besides, does not accident in every pursuit often bestow greater repu-

reputation than real merit? How many men have passed their lives in obscurity who, had they met with patrons and praise, would have ranked with those of superior talents!

The cloister of the cathedral in which the excellence of the paintings of Blas de Prado was pointed out to me, though I think I should of myself have discovered it, is remarkable in several other respects; it is very spacious, and the architectural proportions extremely fine; the walls were once adorned with tolerable good paintings in fresco, which were beginning to yield to the ravages of time and humidity, when the present archbishop confided the care of repairing them to the best painters Spain at present can boast. Messieurs Bayeux and Maella began the undertaking in 1777, and when I left the kingdom, they had nearly compleated their work. The paintings represent the principal actions of the life of Saint Eugenia and Saint Leocadia, patrons of the cathedral, and those of some other
faints

faints famous at Toledo by their zeal for the Christian religion. The subjects appeared to me interesting, and some of them had a great effect. I was particularly struck with the soft and affecting expression of a Santa Casilda, a young princess, who from the top of the palace of her father, still a Pagan, stretches out a hand of succour to the Christians languishing in the prisons of the persecuting monarch.

I might give a long enumeration of the ornaments, furniture and vases consecrated to divine service in the cathedral; a sufficient idea may be formed of them by considering that Toledo is one of the richest sees in Christendom, that it has frequently been held by pious prelates, who would have thought it a reproach on themselves had they made a profane use of their opulence, and that it has always had many opportunities to benefit by the munificence of the sovereigns of Spain. I shall only remark farther, that the curious are shewn a
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throne of massive silver, weighing twelve hundred and fifty pounds, on which is placed an image of the Virgin. Behind the choir is a piece of sculpture, in the very worst taste, and for what reason I know not, called the *Transparent*. It is a modern work, which disfigures instead of embellishing the edifice. Piety, or rather credulity, will find there a much more curious monument. This is a stone which bears the impression of the feet of the Holy Virgin; she placed them upon it when she descended from heaven to bring to Saint Ildefonso the first chazuble or priest's cap; a miracle which a modern sculptor has perpetuated in one of the chapels of the cathedral. This piece was just finished when I saw it for the first time, and it seemed to me to do more honour to the chisel of the artist than to religion. The rough stone which bears the proof of the miracle, more precious than the historical marble, is exposed to public view behind an iron railing. I dare not say of what country the

feet are of which it preserves the form; but I should not scruple to assert, they did not belong to a Chinese.

After the cathedral there are several other edifices which merit the attention of the traveller. Such is the hospital of Saint John the Baptist, of which the porticos, courts, and the church in particular, sufficiently prove, by the elegance and exactness with which they are executed, the period of its foundation to have been about the middle of the sixteenth century, at the same time that they do honour to the good taste of the founder, cardinal Tavera, who has there a magnificent tomb. The latter was the last work of Alfonso Berruguete, an able sculptor, formed in the school of Michael Angelo, and honoured with the favour of Charles V.

Another fine foundation of the same kind which Toledo owes also to one of its prelates, (Cardinal Mendoza) is the found-

foundling hospital, or the hospital of Santa Cruz, an edifice somewhat in the Gothic style, but of which nothing can be particularly admired except the finishing of the ornaments and the principal staircase. In the church there are six great paintings of the school of Rubens, and which for a long time were thought to be by the hand of that master.

Another asylum open at Toledo to suffering humanity, also claimed my attention. This is an hospital for the insane. There are two principal ones in Spain; one at Saragossa, the other at Toledo. I went several times to the latter, and was always surprised at the cleanness and regularity which I constantly found there; and comparing my observations with those I had made in the hospitals of Valencia, Burgos, Cadiz, the general hospital of Madrid, and several other institutions of the same kind, I could not but admire how different devotion and christian charity render

men from themselves, in what a manner they triumph over their defects, and create in them virtues to which they seem strangers. The Spaniards are as magnificent in the decorations of their temples, as simple in those of their private houses. On examining their pious foundations, their indolence and dirtiness, two accusations from which they cannot be intirely absolved, are forgotten. Had religion conferred but this one benefit upon mankind, it would still be highly worthy of our love and admiration. But I shall be told that, on the other hand, it has awakened in them destructive passions which slept in their bosoms. Religion is the mother of ardent fanaticism and barbarous intolerance, as well as compassionate charity. But without examining whether religion may not disown such children, let us congratulate ourselves that we are born in an age when, even in Spain, it is greatly purified from the base alloy by which it was too long dishonoured.

It

It is time, however, to return to the hospital for the insane at Toledo.

The sight of such a place has always something in it afflicting to humanity, even when viewed with the curiosity of philosophy; but I confess I have never felt the sentiment of those who say they are humbled at the sight of this degradation of human reason. I never feel humiliation except when I can make comparisons to my own disadvantage. What class in the creation is better treated than the human species? If any other be so, is our situation such as to make us blush before it? Shame supposes a reciprocal consciousness between the being which feels, and that by which it is caused. We know not angels; beasts are unacquainted with us; and insanity being an involuntary defect from which no person is secure, I see not in what manner any individual of the human species can feel humiliation at the sight of a madman; he himself would not feel

it were he capable of a reasonable sentiment. The drunkard and passionate man are those who ought to blush; they rebel against the reason which would restrain them. The madman, no longer under its empire, is the slave of a power which has subjugated it without his consent; he is not to be pitied unless when lucid intervals give him a knowledge of his situation. Except in these cases, a wretch racked with the gout seems to have a greater claim to compassion. With these preliminary reflexions, the asylums of humanity despoiled of its most exalted endowment, may be entered with a greater degree of composure. I found but one man raving mad in the hospital at Toledo; he was a priest, who, from the wretched bed to which he was chained, uttered uninterrupted execrations against the principal personages of the kingdom of Spain. I beheld in him only a ferocious beast in an human form, whose roarings were expressed by words. Without blaming
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or pitying him, I fled from his approach. His companions were much less frightful. I particularly remarked a Franciscan Monk who had preserved his habit, and had wrapped up his head in a wig made of paper: his only mania was that of mounting on a stone, and thence, as from a pulpit, delivering scraps of sermons, which he mingled with facetious jokes, and ended with making capers. In 1783, I had passed a quarter of an hour amongst his audience; two years afterwards I again appeared before him, and was not a little astonished at his recollecting me. I admired this inexplicable oddity of Nature, which in so severely treating his intellectual faculties had still preserved to him a happy memory. Is not this another problem for metaphysics to resolve?

Before I finish my observations on Toledo, I must not omit to take notice of an invention which is an honour to that city. I mean the famous machine

now gone to ruin, invented by a Cremonian of the name of Juanelo, to raise the water of the Tagus into Toledo. According to the description we have received of it by tradition, it must have been extremely complicated, and for that reason could not but make the supply of water more dear to the inhabitants than it has been since the labour of mules has been substituted to carry water from the river to every house in the city. Several attempts have been made to supply the want of the machine of Juanelo by similar inventions. The mules, however, have triumphed over every conspiracy against them, and remain in possession of their painful functions.

Near the ruins of this machine there are others more ancient, which must have been a part of an aqueduct erected to convey, on a level with the Alcazar, the water from a spring seven or eight leagues from Toledo. This is one of those

those works, equally useful and magnificent, by which the Romans have marked their residence in several places in Spain; nor is this the only Roman monument of which the remains are found in the environs of Toledo. Near a convent of Minimes, on the outside of the city, I discovered the ruins of a circus, and not far from the castle of St. Servant the traces of an old Roman road.

Thus the Romans, the Arabians, the Goths, and the Spaniards of the time of Charles V. by turns improved and embellished Toledo. I cannot say as much for the modern Spaniards. Houses out of repair, fine edifices going to ruin, few or no manufactures, a population reduced from two hundred thousand to twenty-five thousand persons, and the most barren environs are all that now offer themselves to the sight of the traveller drawn thither by the reputation of that famous city. Under the present reign
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some successful efforts have been made to recover it from the universal decay into which it is fallen. We have seen that the archbishop has rebuilt a part of the Alcazar, and established there some manufactures of silk. The blades of Toledo were formerly famous for their temper and solidity. Charles III. has erected a very spacious edifice for making them; and the experiments already made seem to promise that the modern citizens of Toledo will not in this respect be long inferior to their predecessors.

The inhabitants of this city would scarcely pardon me were I to pass over in silence their *Cigarrales*. These are little country houses, which I can compare to nothing that they more resemble than to the *Bastides* which surround the city of Marseilles, except that they are less ornamented and not so numerous. Upon the banks of the Saone, the Loire, or the Thames, these cigarrales would dishonour

nour the country. In the barren part of Castile they are delightful retreats, and in the heat of the dog-days offer coolness and repose amid the shade of orchards. It is nevertheless impossible to arrive at them except by the sweat of the brow, in crossing some burned and unshaded meadow, or climbing over rugged hills. They are however, the garden of Eden to the inhabitants of Toledo, why therefore should I attempt to destroy the pleasing illusion?

I shall here conclude the account of my travels in Spain, or rather the description I promised of that kingdom. I do not pretend that my journies from Bayonne to Madrid, from Madrid to Valencia, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Salamanca, Toledo, &c. have furnished me with sufficient knowledge to enable me to give intire satisfaction with respect to the curiosities of all kinds to be found in Spain*, or the productions, manners

* In matters of curiosity, it would have been necessary for me to have visited and described the

Moorish

and government of the different provinces. The general account I have endeavoured to give of these present (at least I so would hope) what may in this

Moorish' antiquities of which Granada contains almost the only remains to be found in Europe; the Roman antiquities of Tarragona, Alcantara, Merida, &c. the sacred treasures in Saragossa, Saint Jago de Compostella, and other monuments of the pious magnificence of the Spaniards, some whole provinces and most of the ports of the Peninsula. My principal intention was to make known modern Spain under present circumstances, which remain not like chains of mountains, and the course of rivers to be observed during successive ages, and to render to the inhabitants that justice which at present is their due. What may be wanting in my work will be found in the *Essais sur l'Espagne*, by M. Peyron, [prefixed to this work] who, by a premature death, was prevented from completing them; but chiefly in the *Viage de Espana*, by the Abbé Pons, who has particularly described the monuments of every kind, good, indifferent and bad, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, which are to be found in Spain. This work is not yet finished; but it already proves, to the most difficult readers, the author's indefatigable patience and love of his country.

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respect gratify the curiosity of those who wish to be acquainted with a foreign country without residing in it for a considerable time, and free from the prejudices hitherto as prevalent as ill-founded. My object was not to write a book merely for amusement. If this be interesting it is, perhaps, so from the variety it contains. A work which should have been thought profound would have been above my capacity, and one entirely frivolous appeared to me unworthy of the time I had dedicated to writing my journal and observations, and of the class of readers whose suffrages I am anxious to obtain. In all I have said I have endeavoured to preserve a just medium between the enthusiasm which extols every thing, and the spirit of defamation which spares nothing. May I hope it will be allowed that I have fulfilled my intention? Will the Spaniards be of opinion that I have treated them as well as they did me? I should be very sorry were they

558 THE PRESENT STATE, &c.

they to accuse me of want of gratitude,
but my other readers would have just
cause of complaint had I suffered that
sentiment to influence my judgment.

END OF VOL. II.



